

28
d/p

28
107



Divided II

BX 5700.6 .Z8 G75 1909 v.1
Wirgman, Augustus Theodore,
1846-1917.
Life of James Green

v.1

LIFE OF JAMES GREEN

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

THE DOCTRINE OF CONFIRMATION. Considered in Relation to Holy Baptism as a Sacramental Ordinance of the Catholic Church. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY OF BISHOPS IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. Illustrated by the History and Canon Law of the Undivided Church from the Apostolic Age to the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH AND PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA.
[*Out of print.*]



James F. 1882

LIFE OF JAMES GREEN

DOCTOR OF DIVINITY

RECTOR AND DEAN OF MARITZBURG, NATAL
FROM FEBRUARY, 1849, TO JANUARY, 1906

BY

A. THEODORE WIRGMAN, D.D., D.C.L.

LATE FOUNDATION SCHOLAR OF S. MARY MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE
ARCHDEACON OF PORT ELIZABETH, CANON OF GRAHAMSTOWN
AND HON. CHAPLAIN TO THE KING

AUTHOR OF

"THE ENGLISH CHURCH AND PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA"; "THE DOCTRINE
OF CONFIRMATION"; "THE CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY OF BISHOPS"
"THE BLESSED VIRGIN AND ALL THE COMPANY OF HEAVEN"
"THE SEVENFOLD GIFTS OF THE SPIRIT"; ETC.

"Et suscitabo Mibi sacerdotem fidelem . . . et ædificabo ei
domum fidelem"

Lib I. Regum, iii. 35

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

WITH FRONTISPIECE AND ILLUSTRATION

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON

NEW YORK, BOMBAY, AND CALCUTTA

1909

PATRI : IN : DEO : REVERENDISSIMO :

GVLIELMO : ARCHIEPISCOPO :

ET : ECCLESIE :

IN : AFRICA : AVSTRALI :

METROPOLITANO :

HAS : MEMORIAS :

DECANI : VENERABILIS :

CONFESSORIS : STRENGVI :

PASTORIS : FIDELISSIMI :

DEDICAT : AVCTOR.

PREFACE.

THE life of Dr. James Green, in its external and ecclesiastical aspect, is interwoven with the history of the Church of the Province of South Africa from its founding to the present day. His striking personality and the force of his character, informed as it was with profound learning as a theologian and canonist, would have left a deep impress upon whatever portion of the Catholic Church his life work had enriched. Had he remained in England, he would have been numbered with such veterans of the Tractarian epoch as Dean Randall, Archdeacon Denison and George Rundle Prynne. These men led the van of the Catholic movement, and moved with it, instead of being left behind as some of their contemporaries were, when the movement ceased to be academic, and became the mainspring of the practical and devotional energies of the renewed and transformed life of the "Ecclesia Anglicana". But he was given to South Africa; and the work he was there called upon to do, as a leader, an organiser, and a champion of the Faith reacted upon the Mother Church and upon the Anglican Communion as a whole. To most Churchmen who know South African Church history his name stands prominently forward on one great occasion. They know Dean Green as the protagonist in the Colenso controversy with its wide and far-reaching issues. What they do not realise is that, had not God made him what he was, the Colenso controversy would have been narrowed down to a mere question of Biblical criticism, and to the measure of ecclesiastical discipline which the "Ecclesia Anglicana" was prepared to mete out to a Bishop who

shocked the susceptibilities of religious men in the early "sixties".

That was merely the surface issue of the Colenso controversy. But behind it was the whole question of the Catholic Faith, expressed in the Creeds and life of the Catholic Church as a Visible Body. The Incarnation of our Lord was called in question. The Sacramental Life of the Church, with its gifts and powers, the orderly succession of the Apostolic Ministry, the principles of Ecclesiastical Order and Jurisdiction, and the vital and fundamental principle of Authority, based on Divine Revelation, were equally at stake. It needed a theologian and canonist with wide learning and deep spirituality to realise and grasp all this. Bishop Gray was at Capetown, some 800 miles away from the unhappy and distracted Diocese of Natal. Dean Green was the man on the spot, and the Senior Priest of the Diocese, who had ministered there since 1849, some years before the Diocese was founded. Bishop Gray had made him his Commissary in Natal soon after he was appointed Rector of Maritzburg in 1849; and the Metropolitan trusted him implicitly in all Church questions that arose from time to time in that colony. Bishop Gray has always been regarded as the central figure in the Colenso controversy. This naturally resulted from his position as Metropolitan, and from the heroic courage with which he faced the manifold difficulties and perplexities created by the heresies of his Suffragan, and the complex meshes of the net of Tudor Erastianism which had entangled the Colonial Church and its "Letters Patent" Bishops. But it is no derogation from the great gifts and powers and the indomitable courage of the Metropolitan (so fitly called "the Athanasius of the South") to recognise the fact, which Bishop Gray himself would have been the first to admit, that Dean Green was from the very first the wise counsellor, the trusted adviser, the mainspring of action, the far-seeing ecclesiastical statesman, who could discern wider issues to the whole Anglican Communion than the mere personal question of the errors of Dr. Colenso, and their

punishment, vital and important as this question was. He saw more clearly than Bishop Gray that the whole *status* of the Anglican Church depended upon the procedure adopted after Dr. Colenso was deposed. Bishop Gray always clung to the advice of his English friends, and he valued the support of such men as Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, without discounting sufficiently the sub-conscious Erastian entanglements which beset the minds and warp the judgments of the best of the Bishops of the Established Church. In his memorable sermon, preached in Capetown Cathedral in 1898 to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the landing of Bishop Gray, the veteran Dean, in reviewing the story of the fifty years (of which he could have truly said that none but he knew the inner history), spoke as follows of Bishop Gray's views of Church and State :—

“Bishop Gray had been educated in the traditions which had come down from Constantine. Through all those ages the Church had been in intimate connection with the State; the conception of the Church moving freely in the kingdoms of the world, disconnected from the civil power, now so familiar to us, may be said to have been at that time in an embryo state, undeveloped into shape. In addition the Bishop's mind was strongly conservative in character, so that it was most difficult for him suddenly to realise that his ‘Letters Patent’ gave him no powers; and he leant upon them to his own hurt: but the trouble that he suffered on that account was overruled to promote the welfare of the Church.”

These words of Dean Green were spoken in the fullness of time, nearly forty years after the trial of Dr. Colenso. Bishop Gray had passed to his rest in 1871, and the Dean felt, as the last survivor of the men who, with Bishop Gray, founded, out of the apparent chaos of legal perplexities, the stable order of the South African Provincial Constitution and Canons, that the time had come to deal with past events in their true historical proportion.

Dean Green was the last man to vindicate his own action subsequent to the Colenso trial. He carefully

reasoned out the probable consequences of any prescribed course of action, and he adhered unflinchingly to the convictions which he had formed. He saw clearly enough that if the bishop, chosen to succeed Dr. Colenso after his deposition, was consecrated in England under the shadow of the Royal Supremacy, before the Constitution and Canons of the South African Church were framed, it was quite possible that the whole trouble might occur over again. He pleaded again and again for the canonical consecration of Dr. Colenso's successor at Capetown by his own Metropolitan, and *not* in England by sufferance of another Metropolitan and under a semi-Erastian Royal Licence. He also pleaded for the due organisation of the Church of South Africa, and the immediate assembling of a lawfully convoked Provincial Synod, empowered to draft Canons and adopt a Constitution which would place all future trials of bishops or clergy upon an impregnable basis of canon law and contract, absolutely freed from the political and Erastian legal fetters of the Established Church of England. Bishop Gray's earnest desire to procure the consecration of Bishop Macrorie in England was mainly the outcome of his longing to see the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the English bishops generally, commit themselves boldly to the spiritual validity of the deposition of Dr. Colenso. They had, however, somewhat timorously, done so already in the Convocation of Canterbury. But Dean Green looked far beyond the expediencies and temporary exigencies of the situation. He took his stand boldly upon the ancient laws and usages of the Catholic Church. The subsequent consecration of Bishop Macrorie in Capetown Cathedral by the Metropolitan and Bishops of the South African Church was a triumphant vindication of Catholic principles against the Erastian ideals of the Tudor Reformation. Bishop Gray had for some years been working for a Provincial Synod. The fact that, under Dr. Colenso, the Diocese of Natal had no Diocesan Synod, had hitherto delayed the summoning of a Provincial Synod, other than the Provincial Synod of

Bishops, which sat immediately after the Colenso trial, for the purpose of making the judgment of the Court a synodical act.

Dean Green published a provisional draft of Provincial Canons, which formed, in many important points, the basis of our Provincial Canons and Constitution, as they now exist. He urged forward the summoning of a Provincial Synod, until his efforts were crowned with success. The framing of our Constitution and Canons by the Provincial Synod of 1870 owes far more to him than to any other member of the House of the Clergy.

It is time that the Anglican Communion, as a whole, should know what, under God, it owes to the wide outlook, the keen theological perception, the clear legal mind, and the deep spirituality of James Green, Dean of Maritzburg.

Had he been other than he was, had his vision of the Catholic Church been dimmed, had he not pursued the path of trial marked out for him with a rare skill and prudence, coupled with an absolute fearlessness of consequences, the Colenso trial might have ended as an incident of ecclesiastical discipline, and it could not have been lifted up to the high level to which Bishop Gray ultimately raised it, as involving the ecclesiastical liberties of the whole Colonial Church.

The Dean's patience under obloquy and suffering, and his courage when forcibly ejected by Dr. Colenso from the Cathedral, built by his own efforts, and from the Deanery, the home of his family life, touched people at a distance, and forced them to look into the principles which had guided his conduct. They saw in him something more than Horace's ideal of a righteous man determined to do his duty. The well-known lines will bear repeating :—

Iustum et tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava iubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni,
Mente quatit solida.

The Dean was all this. The popular abuse of "safe persons" moved him as little as the tyranny of

the law set in motion against him by Dr. Colenso, and administered by judges palpably biassed by Erastianism. But he was more than this. He was, as Bishop Gray said, a true Confessor of the Faith. The whole conflict in Natal was an outcome of that wider conflict of religious ideals which has distracted the "*Ecclesia Anglicana*" since Henry VIII. forced her into political severance from the Holy See and the Catholic Churches of the Continent of Europe. The ideals of the Tudor Reformation, and the principles upon which it was carried out, form an antagonism in ethics as well as in procedure to the ideals and principles of the Holy Catholic Church, as the Visible Kingdom of our Lord on earth; a fact which renders them incapable of being reconciled.

The destruction of the shrine of S. Thomas of Canterbury by Henry VIII. is a microcosm of the conflict of ideals between the Catholic Church and the world power. The world power, whether manifested by the Tudor despotism, or through the mid-nineteenth century attempt to crush the Catholic movement in England by an Erastian tyranny of secular Courts which imprisoned priests who declined to admit their jurisdiction in things spiritual, is in every age the same. The Dean fearlessly and boldly asserted our Lord's great principle, "My Kingdom is not of this world". The Holy Catholic Church cannot be subject to the world power. We owe civil loyalty and allegiance, as good citizens to Cæsar, but as Churchmen we are the trustees of "the things of God". We cannot allow secular courts to lay profane hands upon the doctrines of "the Faith once delivered to the Saints". The secular power is bound in common justice to guard and protect the property of the Church, as it protects the property of any private individual. The Emperor Aurelian, though a pagan, ordered the heretic Paulus of Samosata, in A.D. 272, to give up possession of the buildings belonging to the See of Antioch to their lawful possessors. His Roman sense of justice led him to see that a person, condemned by the religious body to which he belonged, had no right to continue in posses-

sion of the property of that religious body, which he occupied solely by virtue of an official position within that religious body, of which he had been deprived by the sentence of its tribunal. The Pagan Emperor did justice to the Church in Antioch. The Privy Council of England, composed nominally of Christians, did gross injustice to the Church in Natal. The heresies of Dr. Colenso were just as perilous to souls as those of Paulus. Paulus and Dr. Colenso claimed to hold Church property in defiance of the sentence of the Church, which had adjudged them both to be unfaithful to her teaching. The claim of Paulus and of Dr. Colenso to hold and use property (given to the Church to aid her in teaching the Faith) for their own purposes, as men openly opposed to the Faith of the Church, and condemned as such by her tribunals after careful investigation was, to speak openly and frankly, an immoral claim. The Emperor Aurelian saw that it was immoral, and acted with due justice in repudiating that claim. The Privy Council and other English courts, in giving Dr. Colenso the Church property in Natal after his condemnation for heresy, recognised an inequitable and immoral claim, and thus fell far below the standard of pagan justice. The judges looked upon the "*Ecclesia Anglicana*," whether in England or in the colonies, as the creature of the State. All Church matters that have come before the Privy Council have been viewed through the tinted spectacles of the Tudor Reformation. The Church of England has been regarded as a department of the Civil Service, a Protestant sect, fashioned by Henry VIII., and improved by Elizabeth. The fact that it is a part of God's spiritual Kingdom on earth would never occur to the persons, whose combined or individual wisdom is usually described as "the legal mind," as distinct from the "mind" of Churchmen and Canonists.

The life work of Dean Green was to set forth the spiritual claims of the "*Ecclesia Anglicana*". For this he toiled and watched and prayed during an unbroken ministry in the city of Maritzburg from February, 1849,

to his death in January, 1906. His fifty-seven years of faithful service bore witness mainly to the central truth, "My Kingdom is not of this world". The dramatic force with which his great conflict with Dr. Colenso appealed to his contemporaries, may lead those who do not know him to regard him chiefly as a great controversial protagonist against heresy. The conflict with heresy involved the parallel and subsequent controversy with Erastianism. There lay his life work—to set forth the dormant spiritual powers and possibilities of the "Ecclesia Anglicana"; to guide, stablish, strengthen, and organise the South African Church, apart from the encroachments of State interference upon her life and work; to build from true foundations; and to strengthen amongst Anglicans all the world over "the things that remain and are ready to die," in the face of the present-day Erastian survivals of the Tudor tyranny in Church and State.

A man who is able to confute heresy, as S. Augustine confuted Pelagius, is great. A man who could build and stablish Christendom as S. Leo and S. Gregory did is greater. Dean Green was great as a controversial theologian, because he wrote with knowledge and without bitterness. He was greater as a pioneer, founder, and master builder of the Church in South Africa, because he saw from the very earliest days the need of maintaining the spiritual independence of the Church Visible and Catholic, as the Kingdom of God upon earth.

The record of his early days is necessarily most unsatisfactory to his biographer. I have found it quite impossible to give any adequate account of his college days, or of the influences brought to bear upon his religious life before his ordination. Bishop Blomfield of London was in his day a remarkable man. There must have been something remarkable in the personality of James Green which attracted the Bishop's attention when he ordained him deacon and priest. Two years after his ordination we find him appointed by the Bishop as incumbent of a parish, which was un-

usually rapid promotion sixty years ago. Four years after his ordination he was appointed Rector of Maritzburg by Bishop Gray, and we find him, even in those early days of his South African ministry, to have been a man of unusual power and ability. I must ask my readers to accept him as he was in his South African ministry, without any endeavour on my part to account for the process whereby he became what he was. In these pages he will appear, through no fault of mine, in his full development, as Minerva in classic story issued forth in her full panoply from Jupiter's brain.

This is an undeniable defect in this biography, which its author cannot avoid. But notwithstanding this defect, the character of the man, as shown in its early maturity, and in its later fulness of ripened power and sweet reasonableness, is in itself a study to attract and stimulate the minds of those who value the records of a life of service and leadership.

It has been difficult to select from the vast mass of letters and documents which have been placed in my hands those which bear upon and illustrate the public life of the late Dean of Maritzburg, so as to make it an intelligible and consecutive whole. The attempt has been made in a spirit of fairness with regard to all purely personal issues. But the task involved a stupendous and onerous responsibility.

I have done my best with the materials at my disposal, and if my work seems to be unduly influenced by my personal veneration and affection for one who was my spiritual father and guide, I must rest upon the fact that I have done what I could to show the true and lasting value of the life work of James Green.

I desire to express my sincere and grateful thanks to the Rev. F. M. Downton for his kindness in seeing these volumes through the press, and for invaluable help rendered to me in other ways with regard to their publication; also to the Rev. W. H. Boyne-Bunting, Rector of Porlock, and the Rev. J. T. Darragh, formerly Rector of S. Mary's, Johannesburg, for their kindness in helping to correct the proofs.

A. T. W.

Feast of the Transfiguration, 1909.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME I.

PREFACE	- - - - -	page vii
---------	-----------	----------

CHAPTER I.

1821-1856.

Birth, parentage and education of James Green—Some Cambridge reminiscences—His ordination and appointment as Incumbent of St. Thomas, West Hyde—Bishop Gray calls him to South Africa—His arrival in 1848, and his subsequent journeyings with the Bishop on his Primary Visitation—His arrival in Natal in 1849 as Rector of Maritzburg—His subsequent appointment as Rural Dean and Commissary—Bishop Gray's first visit to Natal—Mr. Green's marriage in February, 1853—Formation of See of Natal, and consecration of Dr. Colenso in 1853—His "Ten weeks in Natal"—His desire that Mr. Green should leave the Diocese—Bishop Gray's farewell Pastoral to the Diocese of Natal—Early troubles of Dr. Colenso—His views on polygamy and alterations of the Book of Common Prayer—Bishop Gray's letters on the subject - - - - - page I

	PAGE		PAGE
Birth and early days of James Green - - - - -	I	Beaufort West - - - - -	5
He enters Durham University - - - - -	I	Return to Bishopscourt - - - - -	6
He leaves Durham for Cambridge - - - - -	I	Letter from the Dean in 1905 on his landing in Natal in 1849 - - - - -	6
His keenness for rowing spoils his tripos - - - - -	2	Durban and Maritzburg - - - - -	6
He graduates 16th wrangler in 1844 - - - - -	2	The Boer Republic in Natal - - - - -	6
His ordination as deacon and priest - - - - -	3	Dingaan murders Retief and his party - - - - -	7
Incumbent of St. Thomas, West Hyde - - - - -	3	Zulu invasion of Natal - - - - -	7
He meets Bishop Gray - - - - -	3	Massacre of Weenen - - - - -	7
And sails for South Africa in 1848 - - - - -	3	Dingaan's Day, 1838 - - - - -	7
Early history of Natal - - - - -	4	Dick King's ride - - - - -	7
He goes with Bishop Gray on his Primary Visitation - - - - -	4	End of Boer Republic - - - - -	7
St. Mary's, Port Elizabeth - - - - -	4	Natal a Crown Colony - - - - -	8
Synod of clergy, and ordination at Grahamstown - - - - -	5	Growth of Natal during the Dean's ministry - - - - -	8
Mr. Long - - - - -	5	Letter to him from Bishop Gray - - - - -	8
Bathurst - - - - -	5	Letter on St. Helena from Bishop Gray - - - - -	8
Port Alfred - - - - -	5	Bishop Gray appoints him Rural Dean and Commissary for Natal - - - - -	9
Fort Beaufort - - - - -	5	Bishop Gray and the C.M.S. - - - - -	9
Graaf Reinet - - - - -	5		

PAGE		PAGE
	Bishop Gray's letter commendatory to the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal - - -	9
	Bishop Gray writes on the Scandinavian Succession - - -	10
	A Roman Catholic view of the Swedish Succession - - -	11
	Dr. Pusey's view - - -	11
	Bishop Gray's Form of Declaration for churchwardens - - -	11
	Bishop Gray saw that the Colonial Church must be free - - -	11
	And <i>not</i> part of the Established Church - - -	12
	Bishop Gray on Mr. Green's approaching marriage - - -	12
	Bishop H. Baynes on the unity of South Africa - - -	12
	Bishop Gray on Archdeacon Merri- man - - -	12
	Bishop Gray's Primary Visitation to Natal - - -	13
	Bishop Gray at Maritzburg, Whitesuntide, 1850 - - -	13
	Ordination of Mr. Steabler - - -	14
	Bishop Gray on the creation of a Chapter and Diocesan Synod - - -	14
	Bishop Gray on Convocation - - -	15
	Bishop Gray subdivides his Diocese - - -	15
	Appointment of Mr. Colenso to Natal - - -	15
	Bishop Colenso sails for Natal - - -	15
	Ten weeks in Natal - - -	16
	Bishop Colenso's views - - -	16
	Bishop Colenso desires Mr. Green to leave the Diocese - - -	16
	Bishop Gray's advice - - -	17
	Bishop Gray's wrong estimate of Bishop Colenso - - -	17
	Mr. Green's determination to remain at his post - - -	18
	His marriage - - -	18
	His family - - -	18
	Mrs. Merriman's estimate of Dean Green's life-work - - -	19
	Bishop Gray's high opinion of Bishop Colenso - - -	19
	His farewell Pastoral to the new Diocese of Natal - - -	19
	Bishop Gray's letter on his work and plans in England - - -	21
	Colonial Archbishoprics - - -	21
	Bishop Colenso's rash views on polygamy - - -	22
	The decision of the South African Church - - -	22
	Bishop Gray's letter on Bishop Colenso's alterations in Church services - - -	23

CHAPTER II.

THE EUCHARISTIC CONTROVERSY.

1857 to 1858.

Appointment as Dean—Constitution of the Cathedral Chapter—The Dean's discretion as examining chaplain questioned by Bishop Colenso—The correspondence on this subject laid before the Metropolitan by the Dean—The Bishop's two sermons on the Holy Eucharist—Their false doctrine—Action of the Dean and Canon Jenkins (i.) in the Cathedral, (ii.) in their joint presentation of the Bishop to the Metropolitan—The Metropolitan's official reply—The Dean's letter upon it to Bishop Colenso—The Bishop's reply—Some consequences of the controversy - - - *page 24*

PAGE		PAGE
	Constitution of Dean and Chapter - - -	24
	The members of the Chapter - - -	24
	Letter of Bishop Colenso offering the Deanery - - -	25
	Character of Bishop Colenso - - -	25
	Gift to the Dean from St. Peter's congregation - - -	26
	Letter from the Metropolitan to the Dean on his appointment - - -	27
	The true function of a Cathedral Chapter - - -	28
	The Durban troubles - - -	28
	Miss Colenso's view of the Durban Protestants - - -	28
	Mr. Rivett's letter - - -	28
	Protestant troubles at Port Elizabeth - - -	28
	Slander on Archdeacon Mackenzie - - -	29

	PAGE		PAGE
Archdeacon Mackenzie's letter on the case - - -	30	Neither Calvinist - - -	40
The Metropolitan's reply - - -	31	Nor Zwinglian - - -	40
Some excuse for Protestant ignorance - - -	31	The Dean's first reply - - -	40
Sydney Smith on the clergy of his day - - -	31	His masterly analysis of the meaning of Presence - - -	41
Bishop Colenso's laxity - - -	32	The difference in general of the Special Eucharistic Presence - - -	41
His sermon at Richmond - - -	32	Bishop Colenso's third letter - - -	41
His surrender to the Durban Protestants - - -	32	The Dean's second reply - - -	42
Their demands - - -	32	Bishop Colenso's fourth letter - - -	42
The inner cause of Bishop Colenso's surrender - - -	33	His denial of the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist - - -	43
The Durban bill - - -	33	The Dean's third reply to Bishop Colenso - - -	43
The Metropolitan's view upon it - - -	33	Bishop Colenso's fifth letter - - -	45
Bishop Colenso and Mr. Crompton His request - - -	33	Contrast between the Bishop's ignorance and the Dean's knowledge - - -	45
His answer to its refusal - - -	34	Professor Conington on the Prayer of the Humble Access as witnessing to the Objective Presence - - -	45
His appeal to the Bishop and its result - - -	34	Bishop Colenso's heresy not new - - -	46
Archdeacon Mackenzie on Mr. Crompton - - -	35	Cranmer and Jewell - - -	46
Mr. Crompton's line of action partially excusable - - -	35	Geste - - -	46
The Eucharistic controversy - - -	36	Heresy of an English clergyman - - -	47
The Dean's resignation as Examining Chaplain recalled - - -	36	The Metropolitan's undue leniency - - -	47
Bishop Colenso's first letter to the Dean on the Eucharist - - -	37	The Dean's first appeal to the Metropolitan - - -	47
The Bishop's second letter - - -	37	Danger of the Diocese of Natal being infected with Zwinglianism - - -	48
His latitude only in one direction - - -	38	Archbishop Temple's condemnation of Zwinglianism - - -	49
His disbelief in Catholic doctrine generally - - -	38	Comparison of the teaching of Zwingli with that of Bishop Colenso - - -	49
His letter to the Metropolitan protesting against the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist - - -	38	Their identity - - -	49
His letter to the same effect to F. D. Maurice - - -	38	The Bishop's first sermon on the Eucharist - - -	50
His denial of the Apostolic succession - - -	39	The Dean and Canon Jenkins abstain from Communion - - -	51
Bishop Colenso's Protestantism - - -	39	Their reason for so doing - - -	51
His confusion of "Spiritual" with "Sacramental" Communion - - -	39	The Dean summons the Chapter to consider the Bishop's sermons - - -	51
Archbishop Egbert on "Spiritual" Communion - - -	39		
Its true significance - - -	40		

CHAPTER III.

1858.

The Eucharistic Controversy—Bishop Colenso's sermons presented to the Metropolitan—His reply—And its consequences - - - *page* 52

	PAGE		PAGE
The Bishop's letter before his second sermon - - -	52	The Dean and Canon Jenkins communicate after the Bishop's second sermon - - -	53
The Dean's reply - - -	52		

	PAGE		PAGE
The Bishop demands the minutes of the Chapter meeting -	53	His curious perversion of the Tridentine doctrine of the Eucharist -	62
The Dean's reply -	54	His ignorance of the term "substance" -	62
Reason for the Dean's strong wording of the Chapter summons -	54	St. Thomas and Cardinal Newman -	62
The Bishop forbids the Chapter to meet without his leave -	54	The Metropolitan's official reply -	63
The rights of a Cathedral Chapter -	55	The object of this document -	67
Episcopal <i>avoula</i> -	55	Exaggerated point against the Dean -	67
The Dean's Presentment of the sermons -	56	Misleading quotations from Tridentine Catechism -	68
Bishop Colenso's theological confusion and inexactitude -	60	The Metropolitan did not see that the sermon involved the Lutheran "Ubiquity" as well as Zwinglianism -	68
His mistake with regard to Waterland -	60	The Dean's letter to Bishop Colenso on the Metropolitan's "reply" -	68
Waterland really opposed him -	60	The Dean's conditioned apology and its justification -	69
Waterland opposes Zwinglianism -	60	The Metropolitan misread Bishop Colenso's character -	70
The Metropolitan overworked and unfit to deal with the grave issues of the Presentment -	60	Bishop Colenso's reply to the Dean -	70
His desire for peace in Natal -	60	The Bishop's points -	73
His private letter to the Dean -	61	The Metropolitan's hopeful letter to the Dean -	74
His unfortunate reference to the Bishop of Oxford -	61	Unjustified by results -	74
The Bishop of Oxford an unreliable theologian -	62		

CHAPTER IV.

1858-1861.

Controversy concerning Bishop Colenso's "Church Council"—The Dean, Archdeacon Mackenzie, and others withdraw from the preliminary "Conference," and protest against the constitution of the "Church Council"—The right of clergy to vote as a separate "Order"—Bishop Gray condemns the "Church Council" as an uncanonical "Legislative Body"—A committee of the Council issues a Report attacking the Dean—His comments thereon—Bishop Colenso's Erastianism and its issues—Consecration of Archdeacon Mackenzie as first Bishop of the "Universities' Mission"—Synod of Bishops in Capetown—Support given by Bishop Cotterill to Bishop Colenso—Difficulties of Bishop Gray at this crisis - - - *page* 75

	PAGE		PAGE
Conference to consider formation of Diocesan Synod -	75	The Dean on representation of all congregations -	78
Substitution of anomalous Church Council -	75	Bishop Colenso excludes native Christians from representation -	78
Withdrawal of the Dean and others from the "Conference" -	76	Rights of the clergy to a vote "by orders" denied by him -	78
Explanatory letter -	76	Bishop Colenso's strange view of the office of a Bishop -	79
Protest from the Dean and clergy against the constitution of the Council -	76	Difficulties connected with laity in Synods -	79

	PAGE		PAGE
Their "assenting" voice -	79	Its triumph in 1888 -	91
Bishop Colenso forms clergy and laity into one "House" -	80	Its defeat by the Catholic Revival of 1832 -	91
Duty of the Dean to resist this novelty -	80	Tractarian ideals in the founding of the Church in South Africa	91
Bishop Gray condemns the Church Council -	80	Lord Campbell's judgment decides that the Church in the Colonies is <i>not</i> the Establishment -	92
Tells the Dean that his protest has saved the Church -	80	Bishop Colenso writes to the Metropolitan desiring to be rid of the Dean -	92
Affirms that as Metropolitan he will ignore the acts of Colenso's "Council" -	81	He takes action against the Dean's Cathedral School -	93
Bishop Gray firm on this vital point -	81	He attacks the Dean's income -	93
Natal Church Council an uncanonical "legislative body" -	82	Bishop Gray and the S.P.G. -	94
Natal jealousy of Cape Colony -	82	Reduction of the Dean's income from S.P.G. -	94
Consequent prejudice against the Metropolitan See -	82	Bishop Colenso writes to the Dean suggesting a compromise with regard to the Church Council	94
Church Council appoint a Committee to deal with the Dean	82	Archdeacon Mackenzie leaves Durban -	95
The bitter language of its Report -	83	He is consecrated Missionary Bishop in Capetown Cathedral	95
Reference to Archbishop Sumner -	83	His letter to Dean Green on his consecration -	95
The Dean's comments on the Report of the Committee -	83	Bishop Colenso's letter on Bishop Mackenzie's consecration -	96
The Metropolitan's censure of the Report of the Committee -	87	His objection to Colonial Provinces and Metropolitans -	97
He failed to realise the conflict in Natal -	87	Synod of Bishops at Capetown -	97
His difficulties at Grahamstown and elsewhere -	87	Bishop Gray is alarmed at Bishop Colenso's views -	97
Ability of the leaders of the Natal Erastian party -	88	Support given by Bishop Cotterill to Bishop Colenso against the Metropolitan -	97
Bishop Gray undervalued their strength -	88	Circumstances of Bishop Cotterill's appointment in 1856 -	98
Bishop Colenso an Erastian Protestant -	88	Bishop Gray's protest to Archbishop Sumner against it -	98
He denied the existence of the English Church apart from the Royal Supremacy -	89	Bishop Cotterill begins his Episcopate badly -	98
Bishop Gray saw that the Colonial Churches must be freed from the Royal Supremacy -	89	He writes to Bishop Colenso to encourage his resistance to the Metropolitan -	99
Lord Brougham's admission <i>re</i> the Privy Council -	89	Bishop Cotterill changes his views and supports the Metropolitan -	99
Conflict of the Erastian and Catholic ideals in Natal dates from 1853 -	89	He denies the Royal Supremacy over the Colonial Church -	100
Bishop Colenso's heresies only a side-issue -	90	His previous letter to Bishop Colenso -	100
Bishop Colenso denies the existence of the "Province" of South Africa -	90	He accuses Bishop Gray of ambition -	101
He states that his Diocese is a part of the "Established Church" -	90	Bishop Gray too overburdened to take strong action against Bishop Colenso -	101
His wish to reproduce "Erastianism" in the Colonial Church -	91	Letter from Dean Green as peacemaker in a personal quarrel -	101
The history of the Erastian-Protestant view of the Church held by Bishop Colenso -	91		

CHAPTER V.

1861-1863.

Judgment of the Privy Council in the Long case, and its consequences—Bishop Colenso's *Commentary on the Romans*—His heretical views on our Lord's Person and work—Action of the Dean and Archdeacon Fearnce thereon—Bishop Colenso's reply to their letter—Its fundamental errors on the "Kenosis"—The Dean and Archdeacon present him to the Metropolitan—His reply—He refers the *Commentary* to Archbishop Sumner—Bishop Colenso's work on the *Pentateuch* creates alarm in England—Bishop Colenso in England—Archbishop Longley summons the Bishops, who call upon Bishop Colenso to resign his See—His refusal—Memorandum on his views—Archbishop Whately and Professor Maurice call upon him to resign - - - - - page 104

	PAGE		PAGE
Bishop Colenso's <i>Commentary on the Romans</i> - - -	104	Knowledge of our Lord's human mind - - -	115
It alarms Bishop Cotterill - - -	104	True meaning of "Kenosis" - - -	115
Judgment of the Privy Council in the Long case - - -	104	Our Lord is an Infallible Teacher - - -	115
It defines the position of the Church in the Colonies - - -	105	Our Lord as Man possesses all human knowledge - - -	115
Quotation from the judgment - - -	105	Bishop Colenso ignored the "Communicatio idiomatum" - - -	116
Discipline of Churches not "established" to be on a basis of contract - - -	105	Our Lord's death was a voluntary act - - -	116
Case of "Forbes v. Eden" - - -	106	The Dean and Archdeacon Fearnce present him to the Metropolitan - - -	116
Case of "Chase v. Cheney" - - -	106	Reply of the Metropolitan - - -	117
Bishop Colenso sends his <i>Commentary on the Romans</i> to Dean Green and Archdeacon Fearnce - - -	107	The Metropolitan's difficulties in bringing Bishop Colenso to trial - - -	118
Archdeacon Fearnce's former opposition to the Dean - - -	107	The Metropolitan's letter to Archbishop Sumner - - -	118
His agreement with him on this subject expressed in a "Joint Letter" to Bishop Colenso - - -	107	The Archbishop's ecclesiastical standpoint - - -	119
Dean Green and Archdeacon Fearnce advised the Bishop as members of the Chapter - - -	109	Protestants are alarmed at Bishop Colenso's views of the O.T. - - -	119
Careful theology of a letter - - -	110	Bishop Colenso's arrival in England - - -	119
The scope of the <i>Commentary</i> and the views of its author - - -	110	Archbishop Longley succeeds Archbishop Sumner - - -	119
His heresy on Justification - - -	110	He summons a meeting of Bishops - - -	120
His heresy on the Sacraments - - -	110	Bishop Tait desires a trial in South Africa - - -	120
His acceptance of "Universalism" - - -	111	Joint letter of the Archbishops and Bishops calling on Bishop Colenso to resign his see - - -	120
His defective view of our Lord's Person - - -	112	Bishop Colenso replies by a refusal - - -	122
Bishop Colenso's formal reply to the letter of the Dean and Archdeacon Fearnce - - -	112	Archbishop Longley's letter to Bishop Colenso - - -	122
Bishop Colenso's ignorance of theology - - -	114	Bishop Colenso's self-satisfaction - - -	122
The error of his phrase "mortal life" as applied to the Incarnation - - -	114	Summary of Dr. Colenso's views and opinions - - -	123
Our Lord became "Perfect Man" - - -	114	Sun-worship the basis of popular Christianity - - -	124
		His view of the Lord's Day - - -	125

	PAGE		PAGE
Professor Maurice's views of Colenso's book - - -	125	He attacks <i>Hymns Ancient and Modern</i> for this reason - -	126
He calls on Dr. Colenso to resign - - -	125	Publishes a Hymnal which eliminates all worship of our Lord	126
Dr. Colenso's tendency towards Socinianism - - -	125	Sir G. Cox on his general teaching	126
His denial that prayer and praise should be addressed to our Lord - - -	125	Denies the personality of Satan	126
		Archbishop Whately thinks he should resign - - -	127
		His crude views on the Pentateuch	127

CHAPTER VI.

1863-1865.

Doubts as to the proper method of trying Bishop Colenso—The Dean's letter to Canon Callaway, dissuading the Natal clergy from any further Presentment of Bishop Colenso—He foresees a civil law triumph for Bishop Colenso—The Dean's letter to Dean Douglas of Capetown—His letter to the Metropolitan, urging the Bishops to take action—The Dean's second letter to the Metropolitan—The S.P.G. appoint the Dean to administer their Natal Grant, instead of Bishop Colenso—Bishop Tait's protest against the action of S.P.G. - - - - - page 128

	PAGE		PAGE
The heresies of Dr. Colenso were a side-issue in the conflict with Erastianism - - -	128	His brotherly treatment of Canon Callaway - - -	132
Dean Green saw the true issues	128	Dean Green's letter to Dean Douglas of Capetown - -	133
Two courses open to the Metropolitan - - -	129	The Dean's letter to the Metropolitan - - -	135
Neither carried out entirely - -	129	Dr. Lushington on the authority of Scripture in the Court of Arches	139
The Dean declines to promote the case against his Bishop - -	129	The Dean's second letter to the Metropolitan - - -	140
His letter to Canon Callaway	130	The S.P.G. entrust their block-grant to the Dean for administration - - -	141
The Dean's wisdom in deprecating action on the part of the Natal clergy - - -	132	Bishop Tait protests against the action of the S.P.G. - -	141
He foresaw a legal triumph for Bishop Colenso - - -	132		

CHAPTER VII.

1863-1865.

The conflict of the Catholic and the Erastian ideals manifested in the trial of Bishop Colenso and its immediate consequences—Bishop Tait's Erastianism—Letter of Archdeacon Grubb and others to Bishop Colenso—His presentment for trial by Dean Douglas, Archdeacon Merriman and Archdeacon Badnall—His trial in Capetown Cathedral—The charges—The judgment—Canonical reasons for its acceptance—The first Provincial Synod—Mr. Keble and Dr. Pusey on the judgment—Pastoral Letter of the Metropolitan

and Bishops to the Diocese of Natal—Its Official Visitation by the Metropolitan—His Charge—Judgment of the Privy Council in the Colenso case—Letters upon it from the Metropolitan, Rev. W. Palmer, Bishop Wilberforce and Dr. Pusey—Pastoral of the Dean - - - - - page 142

	PAGE		PAGE
Bishop Colenso's Erastian ideal	- 142	The decision of the judgment on	
Bishop Tait's Erastianism	- 143	Biblical criticism	- 157
Bishop Tait ultimately remained		Its breadth and tolerance	- 157
in communion with Dr.		Its true issues and import	- 157
Colenso	- 143	The judgment on our Lord's	
The Catholic ideal of the Church		Person	- 157
of England	- 143	Condemnation of Kenotic heresy	- 157
The Church of England was coerced		A statement of Canonical reasons	
into accepting the Royal		for accepting the judgment as	
Supremacy	- 144	binding in South Africa	- 158
She never accepted the Privy		Dr. Colenso refused to appeal	
Council as her Court of Final		to the Archbishop of Canter-	
Appeal	- 144	bury	- 163
The outcome of the Colenso case		The first Provincial Synod of the	
was the ultimate freedom of		South African Church	- 163
the Colonial Church	- 144	The first Draft of the Third Pro-	
The Colenso trial and judgment	- 144	viso	- 163
Letter of Archdeacon Grubb and		The Metropolitan's letter to Mr.	
others to Bishop Colenso	- 145	Keble	- 163
The unwisdom of this letter sub-		Mr. Keble's reply	- 164
sequently manifest	- 146	Dr. Pusey's opinion	- 164
Circular letter of the Dean to the		Pastoral letter of the Metropolitan	
clergy calling for special		and Bishops to the Diocese of	
prayer during the trial	- 146	Natal	- 165
The presentment of Bishop		The Metropolitan's official visita-	
Colenso for heresy	- 147	tion of the Diocese of Natal	- 166
The status of presenting clergy	- 149	Position of the Erastian laity	- 166
The trial begins in Capetown		The Metropolitan's Charge	- 166
Cathedral	- 149	Archbishop Tait's biographers cen-	
Remarks upon the trial by the		sure it	- 167
biographers of Archbishop		The view of the <i>Guardian</i>	- 167
Tait	- 149	Judgment of the Privy Council in	
Careful canonical accuracy of the		Bishop Colenso's case	- 168
procedure of the trial	- 150	Dr. Phillimore's interpretation of	
The appearance of Dr. Bleek at		the judgment	- 168
the trial	- 150	The true meaning of "civilly null	
The speeches of the promoters	- 151	and void"	- 168
Bishop Colenso's letter of defence	- 151	Erastian view that the Metropoli-	
The Assessors' judgments	- 151	tan's judgment was "quashed"	- 168
Summary of the Metropolitan's		Dr. Colenso's return to Natal	- 169
judgment	- 152	Important letters	- 169
Charge I.	- 152	Letters from the Metropolitan and	
Charge II.	- 152	others	- 169
Charge III.	- 153	Letter from Rev. W. Palmer to the	
Charge IV.	- 153	Metropolitan	- 173
Charge V.	- 153	Letter from Archbishop Longley	
Charge VI.	- 153	to Bishop Gray	- 176
Charge VII.	- 154	Letter from Mr. Keble to Bishop	
Charge VIII.	- 155	Gray	- 177
Charge IX.	- 155	Letter from Dr. Pusey to Bishop	
The formal sentence	- 156	Gray	- 177
The Third Proviso and the Colenso		Second letter from the Metro-	
judgment	- 156	politan to Dean Green	- 178
The present authority of the		Pastoral letter from the Dean to	
Colenso judgment	- 156	the clergy and laity of Natal	- 184

CHAPTER VIII.

1865.

The Return of Dr. Colenso to Natal—Letter of Archbishop Longley to the Dean accepting the deposition of Dr. Colenso—Letter of Mr. Saunders to Dr. Colenso on his arrival—Aims of the Natal Erastians—Protests against Dr. Colenso, and Maritzburg Address in his favour—Dr. Colenso sets Erastianism in the front of the conflict as “Queen’s Bishop”—His supporters call the Queen “the Pope and Supreme Head” of the Church—Dr. Colenso invades the Cathedral—The Dean defends the Metropolitan, who offers Dr. Colenso an appeal against his sentence, which is refused—The Sentence of Excommunication, and the Dean’s letter to the clergy on it—The Natal Erastians call on Bishop Gray to resign—The Dean before the Supreme Court of Natal—His civil “outlawry”—Address of sympathy to him from laity of Maritzburg, from the President of E.C.U., and from the Archdeacons of Grahamstown and George—The Dean’s reply—His letter to the English Press - - - - - page 194

	PAGE		PAGE
Mr. Keble’s gifts and sympathy	194	The sentence of deposition read	203
The bitterness of the conflict with Erastianism	195	Divided ministrations in the Cathedral	204
Its inner meaning	195	The Dean’s letter to the Press in defence of the Metropolitan	204
The brunt of the conflict was borne by the Dean	195	The Metropolitan’s letter to Dr. Colenso offering an Appeal	206
Retrospect of the Dean’s work	195	The sentence of excommunication published in the Cathedral	208
Letter to the Dean from Archbishop Longley	196	The Dean’s letter to the clergy on the excommunication	208
Aims and desires of the Natal Erastians	197	The Natal Erastians call on Bishop Gray to resign his See	208
Return of Dr. Colenso	197	His reply	208
Letter to him by Mr. J. R. Saunders	197	The Dean’s refusal to allow the use of the Register to Dr. Colenso	209
Mr. Saunders was an able leader of the Erastians	198	Dr. Colenso applies to the Supreme Court	209
The Erastians did not necessarily support Dr. Colenso’s heresies	198	The Dean’s protest to the Supreme Court	209
Mr. Saunders begins the “Proviso” controversy	199	Civil “outlawry” of the Dean	211
Protest of St. Paul’s Churchwardens against Dr. Colenso	199	Lay address of sympathy with the Dean	211
Address of welcome presented to him at Maritzburg	199	Address of sympathy from E.C.U.	213
The Dean’s counter-Address	200	Address of sympathy from Archdeacon Merriman and the Grahamstown clergy	214
Bishop Welby on the judgment	201	Address of sympathy from the Archdeaconry of George	214
Erastian utterances of Dr. Colenso and his party	201	The Dean’s reply	215
Dr. Colenso’s published letter	201	Letter from Dean Green to the Churchman	216
The Queen as “Supreme Head”	201		
The Queen ordains Bishops	202		
Dr. Holland’s letter	202		
The Queen Pope of the Church of England	202		
Dr. Colenso’s invasion of the Cathedral	203		

CHAPTER IX.

The election of a Bishop—Difficulties of "Church and State" men—Canon Callaway's attitude—Mr. Newnham's position—The Elective Assembly—Weakness of some of the clergy—Outspoken boldness of the laity—The Dean's speech—Mr. Butler elected—Dean Williams and Bishop Cotterill on the Elective Assembly—Lord Romilly's extraordinary judgment in the Rolls Court—Dr. Colenso obtains trusteeship of Cathedral in the Natal Court—He cites Dean Green and other clergy for "contumacy"—He purports to "deprive" the Dean—The Dean's courage and confessorship—Visit of Bishop Twells—Scandalous scenes in the Cathedral—Bishop Twells at Durban—Death of the Dean's son by an accident—The Dean's reply to Dr. Colenso's letter of condolence - - - - - page 219

	PAGE		PAGE
Old-fashioned "Church and State" men - - - - -	219	The Rev. J. Walton supports election - - - - -	229
Their difficulties - - - - -	219	So does Mr. Fenton - - - - -	229
Canon Callaway's hesitation - - - - -	220	And Staff-Surgeon Cattell - - - - -	229
Mr. Newnham's contradictory position - - - - -	221	The Dean closes the debate - - - - -	229
His friendly letter to the Dean - - - - -	221	Archdeacon Fearn's brief reply - - - - -	230
Canon Callaway's letter to the Dean - - - - -	222	Mr. Newnham's amendment rejected, and the vote for election carried - - - - -	231
Canon Callaway's confusions of thought - - - - -	223	Delegation to the Metropolitan and the Bishop of Grahamstown - - - - -	231
The Metropolitan's spiritual and temporal procedure - - - - -	223	Resolution for a Provincial Synod - - - - -	232
The latter <i>only</i> declared "null and void" - - - - -	224	Vote of thanks to the Dean as Chairman - - - - -	232
Meeting of the Elective Assembly - - - - -	224	Assembly adjourns to the Cathedral, and elects Mr. Butler of Wantage as Bishop - - - - -	232
Its solemn declaration of our Lord's Godhead - - - - -	225	Faithful courage of the laity in electing - - - - -	233
Difficulties as to its constitution - - - - -	225	Wisdom of the Dean as President - - - - -	233
Declaration of union with the Church of England - - - - -	225	The Dean's suggested Code of Canons - - - - -	233
Resolution of thanks to the Archbishop and Convocation of Canterbury for their advice - - - - -	226	Letter on them from Dean Williams of Grahamstown - - - - -	233
Resolution to elect a Bishop - - - - -	226	Bishop Cotterill on the Elective Assembly - - - - -	234
Archdeacon Fearn's speech - - - - -	226	Lord Romilly's judgment - - - - -	235
Lord Carnarvon's despatch on Dr. Colenso's position - - - - -	226	Incompatibility of Lord Romilly's judgment with the Privy Council decisions - - - - -	236
Mr. Newnham's amendment not to elect - - - - -	226	Dean Williams on Lord Romilly's judgment - - - - -	236
His speech on severance from the Church of England; - - - - -	226	Dr. Colenso obtains judgment in the Natal Supreme Court granting him the Trusteeship of the Cathedral - - - - -	236
Mr. Barter, M.L.C., opposes Mr. Newnham - - - - -	227	This judgment was subsequently confirmed by the Privy Council - - - - -	236
The Rev. F. S. Robinson also opposes him - - - - -	227	Dr. Colenso cites Dean Green and Archdeacon Fearn for "contumacy" - - - - -	237
The Rev. J. Barker supports election - - - - -	228		
So does Dr. Sutherland - - - - -	228		
And Mr. Wathen - - - - -	228		
And the Rev. J. Taylor - - - - -	228		
And Mr. P. Davis - - - - -	228		
Strong Anti-Erastian speech of Mr. Moodie - - - - -	228		

	PAGE		PAGE
Dr. Colenso delivers judgment		No one insults the Dean -	241
"depriving" Dean Green		Testimony of a bitter opponent in	
and others of their offices and		his favour - - -	241
benefices - - -	237	Outrage committed by Dr. Colenso's	
The sentence of "deprivation" -	238	followers to hinder a Confir-	
Courage and confessorship of the		mation by Bishop Twells -	242
Dean - - - -	239	Hostile address to Bishop Twells	
Visit of Bishop Twells to Natal -	240	from Durban - - -	242
The Metropolitan's commission to		Dean Williams on the visit of	
Bishop Twells - - -	240	Bishop Twells - - -	242
Bishop Twells is refused en-		Death of the Dean's little son by	
trance into the Cathedral -	240	an accident - - -	243
The Cathedral occupied by a gang		Reply of the Dean to a letter of	
of paid watchmen and de-		condolence from Dr. Colenso -	243
separated - - - -	241	The Dean's charity to opponents -	243

ILLUSTRATION.

JAMES GREEN, M.A., DEAN OF MARITZBURG. (About the age
of forty) - - - - - *- facing page 102*

CHAPTER I.

1821-1856.

Birth, parentage and education of James Green—Some Cambridge reminiscences—His ordination and appointment as Incumbent of St. Thomas, West Hyde—Bishop Gray calls him to South Africa—His arrival in 1848, and his subsequent journeyings with the Bishop on his Primary Visitation—His arrival in Natal in 1849 as Rector of Maritzburg—His subsequent appointment as Rural Dean and Commissary—Bishop Gray's first visit to Natal—Mr. Green's marriage in February, 1853—Formation of See of Natal, and consecration of Dr. Colenso in 1853—His "Ten weeks in Natal".—His desire that Mr. Green should leave the Diocese—Bishop Gray's farewell Pastoral to the Diocese of Natal—Early troubles of Dr. Colenso—His views on polygamy and alterations of the Book of Common Prayer—Bishop Gray's letters on the subject.

JAMES GREEN was the third child of James and Eliza Green, and was born at Dalston in the county of Middlesex on 1st December, 1821. He was a very delicate child, and for some time after his birth he was not expected to live. In 1829 Mr. and Mrs. Green moved from Dalston to Clapton Square, and he was sent to school at Springfield. At eleven years of age he was sent to a private school at Stoke Newington, and when he was sixteen, Archdeacon Watson, the Rector of Hackney, advised his father to send him to the then Head Master of Christ's Hospital, as a private pupil. He remained with him for eighteen months, and appears to have shown great aptitude for mathematics. The University of Durham began its practical life about 1833, and it attracted a good number of promising undergraduates. James Green was one of these, and he entered Durham University in 1839 at the age of eighteen. But the cold northern climate did not agree with him. He was compelled to leave Durham in his second term, after a severe attack of pneumonia. He then entered at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and, before long, his college expected great things from him in the mathematical tripos. He was a sound classical scholar, but in those days

Birth and
early days of
James Green.

He enters
Durham
University.

He leaves
Durham for
Cambridge.

His keenness
for rowing
spoils his
tripos.

the chief avenue to University distinction at Cambridge lay through the severe course of studies demanded by the mathematical tripos. The Reverend R. Blathwayt, who was at Corpus at the same time as Dean Green, wrote to the author of this volume as follows in July, 1907: "Green came from Durham with the highest honours as a mathematician. It was fully expected that he would be senior wrangler. But after some little time he went mad upon the boats, and we lost all hope of a great success; our warnings and remonstrances were in vain. He was a slight figure, and I presume 'cox'." The Dean was always interested in athletics, and in his younger days was a good horseman. The writer well remembers the Dean saying to him in 1899, after giving his beautiful addresses at a Clergy Retreat in Port Elizabeth, that he intended to buy a new riding horse when he got back to Maritzburg. And he was then in his seventy-eighth year. Archdeacon Emery, "the Father of the Church Congress," was at Corpus with him, and he agrees with Mr. Blathwayt that, if the Dean had not been so keen a boating man, he would have taken a higher place in the tripos. His remembrance of the Dean in his college days is limited to the fact that he considered him "an exemplary and attractive man". Canon Dickson, formerly Precentor of Ely, was also at Corpus as a freshman, when the Dean was in his third year. He told Mrs. Emery that, like the Archdeacon, he had "similar general recollections of the late Dean's high character". It is a pity that such fragmentary recollections are all that can be gleaned from the memories of those who were his contemporaries at Cambridge. But, notwithstanding his devotion to his college boat, the Dean's keen intellectual powers enabled him to graduate in the mathematical tripos of 1844 as sixteenth wrangler. The tripos list of 1844 contained some distinguished names. The senior wrangler was George Wirgman Hemming, a cousin of the writer of this book. He was a great athlete, and won the University Sculling Championship, which is still regarded as the Blue Ribbon of the Cam. He was in after days a distinguished London barrister. Below the Dean's name in the list were several distinguished men, amongst whom were Archdeacon Hardwick, the well-known author of the *History of the Thirty-nine Articles*, Mr. Clark, Tutor of Trinity and Public Orator of the University, and Professor Maine, who was afterwards Legal Member of the Supreme Council of India. After some months of preparation, during which he read with a clergyman in Berkshire, he was ordained

He graduates
16th wrangler
in 1844.

by Bishop Blomfield of London at the Advent ordination of 1844. Nearly sixty years afterwards he wrote as follows to Rev. M. H. M. Wood, Archbishop West Jones's domestic chaplain :—

"I was ordained deacon on the fourth Sunday in Advent, 1844, and priest on the corresponding Sunday in 1845 ; both in the Chapel Royal, St. James', by the then Bishop of London, Dr. Blomfield. Amongst those present on both occasions was the Duke of Wellington, who made every response in a distinct and audible voice. I must thank you for your kind congratulations on my being in the sixtieth year of my ordination. It is a long period to look back upon, and to realise how much there is for which an account will have to be rendered. Days and months and years flow quickly by, and often pleasantly ; but how will it all weigh when placed in the scales of judgment ? Who can say ? You kindly speak of remembering me on the day when I complete my sixty years in the ministry. I am in good health, as every one remarks ; but in many ways I am failing from month to month, so I can only say with St. Paul, 'the time of my departure is at hand'."

His ordination as deacon and priest.

The Dean told the writer some details of his ordination. The ordinands wore their academical gowns and hoods, and the service was cold and dry, without a note of music.

But Bishop Blomfield had higher ideals than most of the bishops of his time, and he was evidently a good judge of character. He saw that James Green was a man of mark. His first curacy was the district of St. Thomas, West Hyde, in the parish of Rickmansworth. He was ordained priest by Bishop Blomfield in 1845, and in 1846 the Bishop turned his curacy into a sole charge, and appointed him Incumbent of St. Thomas, West Hyde. But he was not destined to remain there long, although the death of his father, in the same year, seemed at first a barrier to his leaving England. In 1847 he met Bishop Gray several times at the house of Lord Robert Grosvenor. The Bishop was struck by his personality, and asked him to join his staff of clergy. At first he declined, because he did not like to leave his mother, who had been so recently left a widow. But the offer was eventually renewed, and he accepted it. He sailed for South Africa in the *Oriental* in May, 1848, and arrived at Capetown on the following 26th of August. His life-work lay before him. The colony of Natal began to attract British settlers, after people became certain that the territory would not be handed back to the emigrant Boers of the Great Trek, who had founded the town of

Incumbent of St. Thomas, West Hyde.

He meets Bishop Gray,

And sails for South Africa in 1848.

Early history
of Natal.

He goes with
Bishop Gray
on his Prim-
ary Visitation.

Maritzburg, and proclaimed a republic in 1838. In 1848 and 1849, Mr. Byrne organised an emigration scheme from England, and 3792 British emigrants arrived in thirty-four vessels. There was no English priest in the whole colony of Natal till James Green was appointed Rector of Maritzburg in 1848. But, before entering upon his duties, he accompanied Bishop Gray, as his chaplain, on his Primary Visitation. The records of that memorable journey were published in a small volume by the S.P.C.K. Mr. Green joined the Bishop on 2nd September at Swellendam, and was immediately set to work to prepare some candidates for Confirmation. All through the next four months the Bishop and his chaplain travelled incessantly. They did not meet a single priest of the English Church, until their arrival at Port Elizabeth on the 1st October, when the Rev. F. McClelland, the first Rector of St. Mary's, met and welcomed them. On arrival at a place their method was to gather together such candidates for Confirmation as presented themselves, and to give a day or two to their preparation, before they were confirmed. The Bishop and Mr. Green divided this work between them. The neglect of half a century had not effaced the memory of the Church and her Prayer Book from the minds of the scattered English settlers. Again and again we read of Confirmations and celebrations of the Holy Eucharist when people were moved to tears, with hearts touched by unwonted and unexpected spiritual privileges. It must have been a stirring and strange spiritual experience for the young chaplain; and the daily intercourse with the Bishop laid the foundation of their lifelong friendship. There are curious little personal touches in the *Journal*. The Bishop was proud of his horsemanship, and the Bishop's chaplain was also a fine rider. But the Bishop records a ride through the Knysna forest in a thunderstorm when a vivid flash struck close to them and their horses bolted; "Mr. Green's horse throwing him," says the Bishop, with a pardonable pride that no such mishap befel *him*. The Bishop tells of his first bathe in a South African river; "taking a swim with Green in the Sunday's river," on his way from Port Elizabeth to Grahamstown. They must have crossed at the old "drift" on the Grahamstown road, and doubtless they found the water very muddy, as it usually is at that place. At Port Elizabeth the Bishop confirmed fifty-two candidates at St. Mary's, which was the first time this Sacrament had been administered in that rising seaport. On Sunday, October 1st, the Bishop preached at St. Mary's, and he says, "there were about seventy-

St. Mary's,
Port Eliza-
beth.

five communicants; many of them were deeply affected and shed tears”.

St. Mary's Vestry was one of the first to move the authorities to found the See of Capetown. The vestry in June, 1844, had addressed the Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, and petitioned for the appointment of a bishop. In 1842 Mr. McClelland and the vestry addressed Mr. Gladstone, then Under-Colonial Secretary, on the same subject. Mr. Gladstone's autograph reply is carefully preserved in the archives of St. Mary's Collegiate Church. In August, 1901, when the veteran Dean preached his last sermon at St. Mary's, there was still left in the congregation one old man, who remembered him as Bishop Gray's chaplain in 1848. On 12th October the Bishop held his first Synod of clergy in the Eastern Province. Mr. Green and five other clergy were present. One of them was destined to a future notoriety as the plaintiff in the famous case “Long *v.* the Bishop of Capetown,” which had such far-reaching issues with regard to the *status* of the English Church in the Colonies. Mr. Long was examined for priest's orders by the Bishop, and was ordained priest in Grahamstown Cathedral on Sunday, 15th October, Mr. Heavy-side, the Rector and Colonial Chaplain of Grahamstown, Mr. McClelland of Port Elizabeth, and Mr. Green joining in the imposition of hands. Mr. Long was then sent to Graaf Reinet. He was an Orange Protestant of an aggressive type. He made things difficult for his successor at Graaf Reinet, and when he was appointed to Mowbray, he allowed his parish to become a chronic centre of disaffection and opposition to his Bishop, and to the organisation of the South African Church. But the Bishop was by nature so unsuspicious of his fellow-men, that he expected every one to treat him as generously as he always treated others. The Bishop and Mr. Green subsequently visited Bathurst, Cuylerville and the Kowie, returning to Grahamstown by Southwell, where the Bishop confirmed nineteen candidates. The Bishop and Mr. Green left for Fort Beaufort, and afterwards went to Somerset East and Cradock, where we find Mr. Green preparing and presenting thirteen candidates for Confirmation. They then went to Graaf Reinet, where forty-eight were confirmed, and afterwards took the long and dreary journey across the Karroo to Beaufort West, where the Bishop received the good news of the safe arrival of Archdeacon Merriman and his party of seven clergy and catechists by the *Persia*. The Bishop and Mr. Green then crossed the Karroo again from Beaufort to George, skirting the Zwartberg

Synod of
clergy, and
ordination at
Grahams-
town.

Mr. Long.

Bathurst.

Port Alfred.

Fort Beaufort.

Graaf Reinet.

Beaufort
West.

range not far from Oudtshoon, which town as yet was not in existence. At an outspan on this journey the Bishop says: "I had a plate of very nice bread and tallow placed before me: I discovered it was not butter in time to warn Green, but too late for myself!" From George they passed through Riversdale and Swellendam to Worcester, whence they returned to Bishopscourt by the Paarl and Stellenbosch on 21st December, 1848.

Return to
Bishopscourt.

Letter from
the Dean in
1905 on his
landing in
Natal in 1849.

When Mrs. Gray met the travellers her womanly eye naturally scanned their personal appearance. "The Bishop's hat," she says, "looked as if he had played football with it for a month—Mr. Green's was still worse." After a fortnight's rest Mr. Green set his face towards his own sphere of work, which was the whole colony of Natal. We have a letter from the Dean, written to Miss Lloyd on the 5th of September, 1905, which gives the account of his landing in Natal—Miss Lloyd's father was the first Colonial Chaplain of Durban, Natal. He says: "I came from Capetown to Natal on board the *Douglas*, a little brig of one hundred tons, commanded by Captain Smerdon; and after a voyage of thirty-one days, spent in struggling against opposing winds, we dropped anchor at dawn of day on Monday the 12th of February, 1849. I remained at Durban during that week, and on the Sunday had service in a store in the corner of Gardner Street, which then belonged to Milner Bros. Most probably you remember it.

"I left for Maritzburg on the next day, Monday the 19th. The next vessel to arrive with passengers was the *Lalla Rookh* belonging to the Milners, which brought Dr. Addison and a few others; then, I think, you were the next to come, arriving, if I remember rightly, in August, a very few days before the Governor (Mr. West) died. I have nearly, if not altogether, given up going from home, but if you will venture so far into the interior as to come to Maritzburg, we shall be very pleased to have a visit from you and to show you our lions, which of late have been rather increasing." The aged Dean's playful jest about "venturing into the interior of the country meant a few hours' journey from Durban to Maritzburg in a corridor train. When he arrived, Durban and Maritzburg were linked by a waggon track, and both towns were little more than villages.

Durban and
Maritzburg.

The Boer
Republic in
Natal.

In 1837 two of the leaders of the great Boer "trek," undertaken to avoid British rule, decided to colonise Natal. When Pieter Retief and Gert Maritz crossed the Drakensberg mountains with a thousand emigrant waggons, Durban was the only

white settlement in Natal. A few English traders had put up some huts and stores, but it was not a British possession.

On 6th February, 1838, Retief and sixty-five Boer farmers were peacefully negotiating for a tract of land with Dingaan, the Zulu king. They were unarmed, and were murdered in cold blood by Dingaan's orders. Mr. Owen, a C.M.S. mission-
Dingaan
murders
Retief and his
party.
 ary, was in Dingaan's kraal on that fatal day. With his wife and sister he remained terror-stricken in his hut, but Dingaan allowed them to leave for Durban unharmed. On the same day an army of 10,000 Zulus marched into Natal to destroy
Zulu invasion
of Natal.
 the rest of the "trek-Boers". They fell without warning upon the Boer encampment at Weenen in the middle of the night,
Massacre of
Weenen.
 and slew forty-one men, fifty-six women, and 185 children, besides killing about 250 of the Boers' coloured servants. The handful of English in Durban led a force of 1,000 native allies against the victorious Zulus. They were defeated, and only four Englishmen and 500 natives escaped with their lives. Some of the Boer leaders wanted to abandon Natal. But the women would not permit such a course. They persuaded the men to fight on. Reinforcements came in, and Commandant Pretorius advanced on the Zulu capital with a force of 464 mounted burghers. He had a few field guns and plenty of ammunition. He "laagered" his force at Blood River, and Dingaan hurled 12,000 of his picked warriors at the Boer camp and its handful of defenders. 3,000 Zulus fell before Dingaan drew off his shattered force. This decisive action was fought on 16th December, 1838. Its anniversary is still kept as "Dingaan's Day," and the Dutch Reformed Church at Maritz-
Dingaan's
Day, 1838.
 burg was built by the Boers as a thanksgiving for their victory. Pretorius followed up his success by capturing the Zulu capital, now the town of Stanger, and collecting for Christian burial the remains of Piet Retief and his sixty-five murdered comrades. The emigrant Boers then proclaimed the Republic of Natal, and founded Maritzburg as its capital. They appealed to the King of Holland to recognise their Republic in vain. The Imperial Government sent a small garrison to Durban. The Boers besieged them, and the garrison was in sore straits, when Dick King of Durban evaded the investing lines, and rode
Dick King's
ride.
 alone 600 miles through Kaffraria to King Williamstown to ask for aid. Colonel Cloete, a member of an old Cape Dutch family, who had joined the British army, was very wisely selected to command the relieving force, and instructed to annex Natal to the Empire. On 4th September, 1843, the Republic
End of Boer
Republic.
 of Natal ceased to exist, and Natal became a Crown Colony.

Natal a
Crown
Colony.

The Boers, with bitter hearts, "trekked" back to the Transvaal, with the exception of about 350 families, whose descendants form the present Dutch population of Natal. It is interesting to note that General Botha was born in Natal, and descended from one of these families. With this history of Zulu treachery behind them, and with the terrible memories of the Zulu War of 1879, when so many Natal colonists fell at Isandhlwana, we cannot wonder at the constant watchfulness of the present Natal Government, and its elaborate precautions against native risings. The venerable Dean was full of the spirit of a true missionary, but at the same time he sincerely deprecated ignorant intermeddling from England in South African native affairs. We shall see later on how thoroughly he understood the temper and feelings of our Dutch fellow-colonists. He never lost sight of the possibility of uniting the two great European races of South Africa.

Growth of
Natal during
the Dean's
ministry.

Letter to him
from Bishop
Gray.

But we have digressed from Durban and Maritzburg, which the Dean found very small places, with undeveloped possibilities, in 1849. Durban has now a population of over 50,000, and Maritzburg, the capital of Natal, a population of nearly 30,000. The Dean, in his ministry at Maritzburg, from 1849 to 1906, had seen the colony of Natal grow from a handful of British settlers, under Crown Colony government, to an important self-governing colony with two Houses of Parliament, a Governor, and full Responsible Government. Before the Dean reached the shores of Natal Bishop Gray began a correspondence with him that ended only with the Metropolitan's death in 1872. Writing from "Protea" (the old name of Bishopscourt) on 8th February, 1849, the Bishop says: "I fear you must have had a rough passage as well as a tedious one. Our plans for the Collegiate School (now the Diocesan College, Rondebosch) are all fixed. We open on the 15th of March. I wish you were going with me to St. Helena. I shall miss my travelling companion very much. The Governor (Sir Harry Smith) gives me £900 a year for nine clergy on condition I guarantee £900 more from private sources. I have done so."

Letter on
St. Helena
from Bishop
Gray.

On 5th May the Bishop wrote again on his return from St. Helena: "The visitation at St. Helena has been to me of deeper interest than that of any of those places which we visited together. I was the guest of the dear old Governor, Sir P. Ross, for nearly six weeks, who, together with his excellent family, entered most heartily into my work. It has pleased God, I think, in many ways to bless my visit to that island. I found it distracted by a schism, begun within the

last three years by an Anabaptist teacher. Up to that period all the inhabitants were members of the Church. This has, I trust, received a check, and there has been a kind of revival there. The Church in Jamestown belonged to Government. It, together with the country church (about to be pulled down), has been conveyed to the See. Two churches and a school-room are undertaken. Candidates for Confirmation 450—one deacon ordained, way paved for another clergyman, so that there will be five instead of two. I appointed Mr. Kempthorne, Commissary, Rural Dean and Surrogate. The clergy are zealous good men. I look to that island now with comfort, though we still need another clergyman. Thank God, you seem to be prospering. I give £50 *public*, and £20 *private* to each of the Churches (*i.e.*, at Maritzburg and Durban). Give me your thoughts upon rural deans and rural chapters—rules for their guidance—subjects for discussion, etc. I have told your Governor that I have made you Rural Dean of the Dependency (of Natal). I have written civilly to him. I thought he would like to have the Rural Dean near him, and it might make him more willing to support you. I found some difficulty in putting two Church Societies in St. Helena into proper order, though ultimately I hope I succeeded; but it almost convinced me that it is impossible to keep societies in their proper place. They gradually seem to feel that they are something external to the Church, and have different interests from it, instead of being its humble handmaids; and they grasp at power.”

This last portion of the Bishop's letter is the key to his action with regard to the C.M.S., whom he invited to take up missionary work in his diocese. He stipulated that the C.M.S. missionaries should bear the same relation to his episcopal authority as his other clergy and the S.P.G. missionaries. But Salisbury Square would not permit effective Diocesan Episcopacy, as Bishop Coplestone found in Ceylon in 1876. So the C.M.S. declined to work under Bishop Gray, a decision which has had far-reaching consequences in the life of the South African Church.

Bishop Gray wrote the following commendatory letter to Mr. West, the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal:—

“PROTEA,
“8th May, 1849.

“SIR,

“I fear I may have been guilty of some neglect in not sending with the Rev. J. Green, whom I a short time

Bishop Gray
appoints him
Rural Dean
and Commis-
sary for Natal.

Bishop Gray
and the
C.M.S.

Bishop Gray's
letter com-
mendatory to
the Lieu-
tenant-
Governor of
Natal.

since appointed to the cure of souls at Pietermaritzburg, letters of commendation to your Honour and the members of the Church in that place. I was, however, so overwhelmed with occupations on my return from my visitation, and had to prepare so speedily again for my visitation at St. Helena, that this, amongst other things, was, I am sorry to say, overlooked by me.

“ Mr. Green resigned at my call a living in England, expressly with a view to being sent to Natal, to which place he would have proceeded immediately upon his arrival in the Diocese, had it not been that I was just starting on my visitation in a weak state of health. He accompanied me over the colony; and thus I was enabled during the four months we were together to become thoroughly acquainted with him. I am therefore enabled to commend him to your Honour, and the whole Church at Pietermaritzburg, as a man of deep and earnest piety, unwearied zeal, and soundness in the Faith. He will, I am sure, prove a blessing to the souls of those to whom he is appointed to minister. I have, in addition to his parochial charge, appointed him Rural Dean of the whole dependency of Natal. (Here follow certain details about Mr. Green’s appointment as Colonial Chaplain, and his pay, and the letter concludes as follows):—

“ I shall be happy to contribute £70 to each of the churches (*i.e.*, Maritzburg and Durban) which I understand the inhabitants are anxious to erect. It will, in all probability, be a few months before I shall be able to visit Natal, when I hope to have the pleasure of making your Honour’s acquaintance.

“ I have the honour to be, Sir,

“ Your obedient servant,

“ R. CAPETOWN.

TO HIS HONOUR

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF NATAL.”

Bishop Gray’s letter contains a warm and loving appreciation of Mr. Green’s powers and gifts. The Bishop valued the counsel of the young Rural Dean of Natal from the very first beginning of their fellowship in work. His letters show that the chief difficulties of the huge and unwieldy diocese, which embraced, practically, the whole province of South Africa, were laid before Mr. Green as they occurred. On 18th July, 1849, the Bishop wrote cautiously and wisely about the question of the “succession” of the Scandinavian Lutherans who were missionaries in Zululand. “It would not, I think, be safe to commit

Bishop Gray
writes on the
Scandinavian
Succession.

oneself to a recognition of it until quite satisfied upon the point. I looked slightly into the matter once; and the impression left on my mind was unfavourable to their claims. I suppose you can easily ascertain whether they lay claim to the 'succession,' and lay any stress upon it. Clearly if they have it, they ought to seek to place themselves under me, and if they do not, they are guilty of schism." The Bishop's caution was necessary. The Danish and Norwegian Lutherans have lost the Apostolic Succession, and their "Episcopacy" is merely on a par with that of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. The case of the Swedish Lutherans is somewhat different. Their "orders" are derived from the Swedish Bishop Westeras, who was duly consecrated at Rome in 1527. He was compelled by the Swedish king to consecrate Lutheran bishops. A learned Roman Catholic theologian says: "The consecration having been duly performed, though uncanonical and unlawful, was certainly valid, and thus the present Swedish Lutheran bishops, unless the rite of consecration has been materially altered, are invested with the Episcopal character" (Abp. Spalding's *History of the Reformation*, p. 424). It is curious that in the same volume Archbishop Spalding denies Anglican orders, whilst more charitably disposed towards the claims of the Swedish Lutherans. But they have abolished Confirmation, with valid form and matter, as other Lutherans do. They attach no value to the Apostolic Succession, and they have so altered their forms of Consecration and Ordination, that it is impossible to believe that they are valid. Dr. Pusey denied the validity of Swedish Orders on these grounds, and more recent examination has confirmed his judgment.

A Roman Catholic view of the Swedish Succession.

Dr. Pusey's view.

Bishop Gray soon found out that the Church in the colonies must stand on its own basis apart from the State. Writing to Mr. Green on 20th September, 1849, he tells him that he wishes all churchwardens and members of vestries to sign the following declaration: "I do declare that I am a member of the Church in the diocese of Capetown *in communion with the United Church of England and Ireland*, and that I will conform to the doctrine and discipline of the said Church". The Bishop wrote that this declaration "will be of vast importance to the Church in more ways than one. You will see the bearings of it in many ways."

Bishop Gray's Form of Declaration for churchwardens.

Here was the independence of the South African Church in embryo. The seed thus sown in 1849 bore fruit when the Constitution and Canons were framed in 1870. The Church of this province was from the first destined to be "in communion

Bishop Gray saw that the Colonial Church must be free.

And *not* part
of the Estab-
lished Church.

with" the Church of England in things spiritual, but it was never meant to be a part of the "Establishment," or to own allegiance to the authority of the Crown and Parliament in matters ecclesiastical. From the very first Bishop Gray aimed at the same freedom from legal ties with the Church of England as the Scottish Episcopal Church, or the American Church, possesses.

Bishop
Gray on
Mr. Green's
approaching
marriage.

On 13th November, 1849, the Bishop wrote to Mr. Green about his approaching marriage.

"All through the country from Capetown to Knysna I have been informed of a certain happy event likely soon to take place in Maritzburg. It is said that Mr. Green and a certain Miss Moodie are shortly to be united. I never knew of an event more widely disseminated. Do not suppose therefore that you have kept your secret to yourself." The Bishop's words remind old colonists of a special brotherliness and social union which characterises South Africa. The fact that Natal is some 900 miles from Capetown by sea, and further by land, is no barrier to a common interest in social as well as political events.

Bishop H.
Baynes on
the unity of
South Africa.

Bishop Hamilton Baynes grasped this fact, and writes thus of it: "South Africa, though physically a vast country, is, on its human side, a very small country, closely knit together. The people of Capetown know all about the people of Port Elizabeth (500 miles distant) and Durban, and those of Durban and Kimberley know all about those of Johannesburg and Bulawayo. Family connections and business relations unite them. The tone of the towns affects the farmers in the remotest districts. The native races draw in through every pore the spirit which prevails among the white men around them. So the Way of the Lord is prepared" (*Handbooks of Church Expansion (South Africa)*, by Bishop Hamilton Baynes, p. 169).

Bishop Gray
on Arch-
deacon Merri-
man.

On the 8th February, 1850, the Bishop wrote some remarkable words to Mr. Green about Archdeacon Merriman and the founding of a mission to the natives. "What will you say when I tell you that we have already decided to found a mission in Kaffraria? The spot is Umhalla's Territory. He has 10,000 subjects. Colonel Mackinnon and the Governor both pressed the matter upon me, and I am writing home for a priest and a deacon. This is a commencement. I do not at all give up the idea of missions to your heathen, and hope to be able to come to a definite conclusion when with you. The dear noble Archdeacon presses to be sent to live in a Kafir kraal upon sour milk and mealies, with wife and children. This is the second time he has suggested exchanging his Arch-

deaconry for a hut amongst savages. He cannot be spared, at least for the present. But I love him the more for his love to their souls. He is an extraordinary man. There are few like him."

This heartfelt appreciation of Archdeacon Merriman expressed Bishop Gray's lifelong estimate of him. The writer was privileged to serve under him, when he was Bishop of Grahamstown, from 1874 to his death in 1882. His clergy could well endorse Bishop Gray's words, "There are few like him."

On 27th March, Bishop Gray wrote to Mr. Green announcing his Visitation to Natal *via* Bloemfontein and Harrismith. He said: "It gives me great pleasure to tell you that I think your new Governor (Sir B. Pine) is a worthy man. I have met him several times, and like much what I have seen of him. You will find him, I trust, a supporter."

Bishop Gray's
Primary
Visitation
to Natal.

The Bishop started on his second Visitation on 1st April, 1850. He got to Bloemfontein on 3rd May, and on 12th May, having lost his way, he met Mr. Green at an old Hottentot's house, where he spent the Sunday. Mr. Green had ridden 400 miles from Maritzburg on a journey of six days to meet him. The Bishop then sent Mr. Green to Harrismith to fix upon sites for the future church, parsonage and school, and on his return began the precipitous descent of the Drakensberg *en route* to Natal. It was the first time the descent had been attempted in a "Cape cart". The Bishop and Mr. Green slept in the cart, and on arrival at Maritzburg the Bishop says that for nine nights in succession he had slept with his clothes on. The Bishop records his delight in seeing what Mr. Green had accomplished in so short a time. Services at Maritzburg were held in the Government schoolroom, the upper end of which was screened off for Divine worship. The Bishop notes the decent altar, "the very handsome Early English stone font," and the "massive lectern" of colonial wood. The Bishop celebrated and preached twice on his first Sunday in Maritzburg, which was Whitsunday. There were twenty-five communicants. The Bishop says in his Journal: "When the choir broke forth with the *Venite*, I was for the moment quite overcome. That text, *How shall I sing the Lord's song in a strange land?* rushed into my mind. It was not that I was moved by any desponding or ungrateful feelings, but I could not refrain from tears. The sacredness of the day itself, its peculiar appropriateness for the first service of the first Bishop of the Church of God in this land—the devout and reverential

Bishop Gray
at Maritzburg,
Whitsuntide,
1850.

Ordination of
Mr. Steabler.

manner of the congregation that had been gathered by the zeal and earnestness of my dear friend—gratitude to Almighty God for what He has already wrought for us in this land—all these contributed to make me feel very deeply the services of this day.” During the week the Bishop confirmed forty-four candidates, presented by Mr. Green; a very large number, considering the small English population of Maritzburg in those days. On Trinity Sunday Mr. Steabler, who had been working with Mr. Green as catechist, was ordained deacon. This first ordination in Natal was noteworthy in more ways than one. Mr. Steabler was afterwards sent to Bloemfontein, where he laid the foundations of Church life in the days of the “Orange River Sovereignty”. When the territory was given up to the Boers, Mr. Steabler had to leave, and he became Rector of Graaf Reinet in succession to Mr. Long, and subsequently Canon of Grahamstown. He was an old-fashioned Tractarian of rigid principles and unwearied zeal. In 1892 Bishop Webb offered him the Archdeaconry of Grahamstown, but he declined it on the ground that he wished to end his days in Graaf Reinet, where he died full of years and of honour in 1894.

Bishop Gray
on the crea-
tion of a
Chapter and
Diocesan
Synod.

Bishop Gray realised very soon that his vast diocese must be subdivided. In June, 1851, he writes to Mr. Green that it will be necessary for him to go to England to arrange for the subdivision. He says, “I am thinking of creating a Chapter as a Council to the Bishop”. The Bishop grasped from the first the true ideal of a Cathedral Chapter as the “*Senatus Episcopi*,” and his ideal now obtains in every South African diocese which has a Chapter. The Bishop proceeds to ask, “What are your views about a future Synod for this diocese? My thoughts are being directed to the subject of public censures of notorious sinners, and public restoration of penitents. I have one or two painful cases on hand. What do you think is the course we ought to adopt?” Mr. Green’s reply to these important questions has not been preserved. But it is significant that Bishop Gray should have sought the advice of so young a priest upon such crucial matters. It is a testimony to Mr. Green’s learning and judgment, and to Bishop Gray’s greatness in humility. The type of bishop who will not seek the advice of his priests is not unknown to the Church, which has suffered more than enough from the inherited feudalism of English bishops, whose self-isolated loneliness of judgment has severed them from the sympathies of their clergy. It is interesting to note in another letter, written in 1851, that

Bishop Gray forecasts the establishment of houses of laymen in connection with the English Convocations. Writing in the same year to another correspondent the Bishop says of the Church of England: "Justice must be done to the Church. She must have the liberty which Romanists, Methodists, and Quakers have. The House of Commons is not the Church, nor can Churchmen surrender up everything they hold dear to be decided according to its will." Few people saw this in the year 1851. And he wrote stronger words to Bishop Wilberforce, when the latter was alarmed at Archdeacon Manning's secession. "Year after year I am more deeply convinced that the Church of England's position is untenable: that the Royal Supremacy, as held in these days, is as fatal to the Church's faith as Papal Infallibility. I believe that it will break up the Church unless a remedy be found."

Bishop Gray
on Convo-
cation.

In his letter to the diocese, before leaving for England in January, 1852, the Bishop sets forth the subdivision of his diocese, the maintenance of the clergy and missions to the heathen, as the main objects of his visit. But it took him a long year of weary negotiations and incessant work before his design was accomplished. In September, 1853, he offered the See of Grahamstown to Mr. Armstrong of Tidenham, the chief founder and promoter of Church penitentiary work. A short time previously he selected Mr. Colenso for Natal, of whom he knew very little except that he had heard from others of his interest in missions. Bishop Gray made here the great mistake of his life. Had he been well-informed he might have ascertained the plain fact that Mr. Colenso was utterly out of sympathy with the Catholic faith, partly from ignorance, and partly from his upbringing. His mother was a Nonconformist. He was ordained in the Church of England mainly, as he tells us (*Bishop Colenso's Life*, p. 3), because he found he would have more liberty to do and say what he pleased than he would have had as a dissenting minister. He wrote, "If nothing should occur to realise my wishes with respect to the Church, *I am prepared for the Independents*". He never believed in the sacramental teaching of the Book of Common Prayer, and his views on most points were self-centred, and based upon the consciousness of his own imagined originality.

Bishop Gray
subdivides his
diocese.

Appointment
of Mr. Colenso
to Natal.

On 1st December, 1853, Bishop Colenso sailed for Natal, having been consecrated on St. Andrew's day with Bishop Armstrong. During the voyage he delivered a series of lectures on the Epistle to the Romans, which, according to his biographer, contained the germ of his subsequently published

Bishop
Colenso sails
for Natal.

Commentary on that Epistle, which furnished the chief ground for his condemnation when he was tried for heresy (*Life of Bishop Colenso*, vol. i. p. 135).

Ten weeks in Natal.

Bishop Colenso's views.

After landing he remained ten weeks in his diocese and then returned to England, where he published a little volume entitled *Ten Weeks in Natal*. Naturally it was full of crude impressions and immature judgments. Bishop Colenso at that time was a Protestant, with very strong rationalistic sympathies, coupled with an unswerving belief in himself, and a firm conviction that people who did not think as he did were hopelessly in the wrong. He did not believe that he belonged to the Catholic Episcopate with its mutually dependent rights and claims. He did not believe that he was an officer of a "Visible Society" bound by spiritual ties to the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship. He held the usual Protestant view of his office. The invalid "Letters Patent" of the Crown weighed far more in his estimation than the solemn imposition of hands whereby he received the office of a bishop in the Church of God. There were other bishops of the same type in those days, and even in the twentieth century the Church of England has been troubled with episcopal Erastianism. But Bishop Gray ought to have found out the true views of Dr. Colenso before he was consecrated. The arrival of the Bishop of Natal naturally caused much close intercourse between him and Mr. Green. As Bishop's Commissary, Mr. Green had exercised full powers of rule over the clergy for some four years. All those powers were laid down in a most tactful manner, for Bishop Colenso, though from the first he felt a dislike to Mr. Green, never hints a complaint against him on this score. Mr. Green was most helpful and friendly, as the Bishop's letters to him from England, written after his flying visit to Natal, abundantly show. But *surgit amari aliquid*. Writing from London on 5th July, 1854, the Bishop admits Mr. Green's "zeal and earnest spirit of self-devotion" in his work at Maritzburg, but does not conceal his hope that Mr. Green will accept work in the Diocese of Capetown. The Bishop proceeds, "Would it not be better for you, and happier for both of us, that I should have in the chief pastor of Maritzburg a warm and attached friend and zealous co-operator in my plans, as well as an adviser and comforter, who would share with me and help to lighten my burdens, instead of increasing them?"

Bishop Colenso desires Mr. Green to leave the diocese.

Mr. Green sought counsel of the Metropolitan upon the receipt of so broad a hint that Bishop Colenso desired his resignation. He had previously done so on the same subject,

and Bishop Gray had replied, "It appears to me that his (Bishop Colenso's) visit to Natal so far affected him as to lead him to wish to have another, rather than you, as his representative and chief adviser at Maritzburg. My own opinion is that neither of you fully appreciate each other. I think you have quite failed to see the beauty of his character, and the real nobleness of his disposition. He is a most devoted servant of God, and full of love for all that is good, and all good men. If I were to speak of any fault in him it would be that his naturally sanguine and eager temperament leads him to *do* things somewhat impetuously. He acts, when a cooler and more cautious man would be thinking whether he ought to act." Bishop Gray knew too little of Bishop Colenso at this time to be able to form a fair estimate of him. His hastiness in action lay on the surface, and Bishop Gray recognised so much. But Bishop Gray believed that every one was really what he wished and hoped them to be, and he learnt by bitter experience how little he really knew of Bishop Colenso. When, in after days, people who did not know spoke harshly of Bishop Gray's action towards his erring suffragan, those who really knew him saw how hard it was for him to believe that Bishop Colenso was not the man he took him for. The quotation from his letter on Bishop Colenso is witness enough that Bishop Gray was more than determined to make the best of him.

Bishop
Gray's
advice.

Bishop
Gray's wrong
estimate of
Bishop
Colenso.

In the very same letter he assures Mr. Green that he must have been mistaken in believing that Bishop Colenso had authorised "Mr. P. to administer the Holy Communion without first ordaining him priest". But Bishop Colenso's subsequent denial of the Catholic priesthood, and its functions in the Church, only showed too plainly that the information that had reached Mr. Green on the subject was likely to be correct. In reply to Mr. Green's request for counsel when Bishop Colenso plainly expressed a wish for his resignation, Bishop Gray wrote on 2nd August, 1854, that Bishop Colenso had "an *impression* that you were not as useful there as he could wish, and a *desire*, if it could be arranged, to place a personal friend there. As I said before, I do not think you are under any obligation to move, if you differ from the Bishop, and wish to remain; and I cannot but hope that you and he will get thoroughly to understand and value each other. There can be no objection to your referring, as you propose, to our correspondence in a letter to him, and saying that you think it your duty to remain where you are. I am very sorry that you should have had

this fresh and unexpected cause of anxiety and sorrow, but, with yourself, I believe that, taken as you are taking it, it will be blessed to you. Disappointments and troubles keep us humble, when otherwise perhaps we should be set up. I feel continually my need of them, and I am not without them."

Mr. Green's
determination
to remain at
his post.

Bishop Gray's fine character is shown by the last quoted words of his letter. Humanly speaking, it is difficult to see what fate would have befallen the unhappy Diocese of Natal if Bishop Colenso had succeeded in ridding himself of the one man capable of exposing his errors, and saving the Faith from destruction. The easy and obvious path for Mr. Green was to desert his post. But, with unflinching courage, he chose the way of sorrows, and, with true steadfastness and humility, prepared himself to enter upon the great conflict of his life. His clear intuitions and penetrating intellect showed him the Bishop of Natal's true character and aims, and, with patience and forbearance in his personal relations with the Bishop, and guarded watchfulness with regard to the doctrine and discipline of the Church, he steadfastly persevered in the duties of his office. On 2nd February, 1853, Mr. Green married Charlotte Mary Moodie at Maritzburg. Ten children were the issue of the marriage, three of whom died in infancy and one, Benjamin Hugh, was killed as a child of eight years old by falling out of a waggon in 1867. The eldest son, the Rev. Francis James Green, was ordained deacon in 1878 and priest in 1882 by Bishop Macrorie of Maritzburg, and is now Incumbent of St. Mark's Mission Church at Maritzburg. The second son, Colonel Green, K.C., is a barrister, and a member of the Natal Parliament. He was colonel of that famous volunteer regiment, the Natal Carbineers, and served with distinction in the Zulu War of 1879, and subsequently in the Boer War of 1899-1902. He was in command of that portion of his regiment that was besieged in Ladysmith, and was made an hon. colonel of the Imperial Army in recognition of his services. He sat in the Provincial Synod of 1904 as one of the lay representatives of the Diocese of Natal.

His marriage.
His family.

On 31st March, 1853, Bishop Gray wrote to Mr. Green: "I have just received your letter, announcing, like a lady, at the close of a very ordinary communication, the important event of your marriage. May God bless your union, my dear friend, and may it be for your happiness in time and in eternity!" The Bishop's good wishes found their true fulfilment, for the married life of Dean Green was blessed in his home and his children. Without the constant sympathy of his wife, his

burdens would have been heavy indeed. In his choice of a wife his inclinations were blended with wisdom. South Africa in those days was no paradise for English ladies. In many cases clergy who married ladies from England discovered that their wives could not really settle and build a home in South Africa. The result has been that men have been compelled to return to England, because their wives could not reconcile themselves to South African life. Dean Green chose a lady whose family and home were South African to begin with, and she had no English ties to break. And so the Dean and his children became colonists in life and sympathy with the mother of the household. It seems fitting here to record the impressions of the only survivor of those who were closely linked with the Church life of those days. Mrs. Merriman, the widow of Bishop Merriman, wrote of Dean Green as follows to the writer of this book, in reply to a request for some personal recollections :—

“I can supply you with no information relative to Dean Green such as you desire, excepting that from the first moment I saw him at Protea in November, 1848, till the last of his life he was the same upright soldier of Jesus Christ, and always continued the sincere friend of my dear husband and myself. Like St. John the Baptist, he constantly spoke the truth, boldly rebuked vice, and patiently suffered for the truth's sake. Would that all priests were similar examples to their flocks of godly living and faithful service !”

Mrs. Merriman's estimate of Dean Green's life-work.

There is very meagre information to be obtained with regard to Mr. Green's life and work for the next few years. Things were difficult for him owing to Bishop Gray's determination to see nothing but good in Bishop Colenso. We may yet further illustrate this point by recurring (out of due chronological order), to a letter of Bishop Gray's to Mr. Green in 1853. Writing of the choice of men for the two new sees, he says : “I have not fixed upon one for Grahamstown. Dear Merriman shrinks, and the Archbishop reluctantly consents, so he will be passed over, I fear, to make room for an inferior man. *You are very fortunate* in Colenso, who is full of life, energy, zeal.” We may here fitly append Bishop Gray's farewell Pastoral to the Church in Natal :—

Bishop Gray's high opinion of Bishop Colenso.

“TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH IN THE RURAL DEANERY OF NATAL. His farewell Pastoral to the new Diocese of Natal.

“My Reverend Brethren and my Brethren of the Laity,

“You will, I am sure, rejoice with me in the announcement which I now make to you that your Deanery is about to

be erected into a Diocese, by the appointment of the Revd. John William Colenso, D.D., to the office of Bishop of Natal. His Consecration will take place (D.V.) at Lambeth Parish Church on the 30th of November—the feast of St. Andrew.

“In thus announcing the cessation of my Pastoral connection with you, I desire to express my deep regret that during the six years of my Episcopate I should only have been able to visit Natal once, and that for a short period. The vast extent, however, of the diocese, the unceasing labours arising out of the establishment of a Church in a new country, the fact that I have been compelled to spend a great portion of my time in England in raising the funds requisite for the maintenance of the clergy whom I have engaged; these things combined, have rendered a second visit to a country and a people, deeply interesting to me, impossible, even though I have been travelling in or on behalf of my diocese four years out of little more than six. I am deeply conscious, my brethren, that you have not reaped all the benefit that might have been anticipated from the establishment of the first South African Bishopric, and that others might have done more than I have been able to accomplish. Henceforth, however, you will have a Bishop of your own; one distinguished not only by the highest honours which his University could confer, and by his mathematical works now used in nearly all our great schools in this country, but what is of far greater importance, eminent for his zeal, his devotedness in the cause of Christ, his ability as a minister, and the interest which he has for some years taken in the foreign missions of the Church.

“From this time forth, I am well assured, new life and energy will be thrown into the feeble infant Church of Natal, and that great reproach which now attaches to us, of having done so little for the myriads of heathen amidst whom we dwell, will be wiped off from us. I need not, however, tell you, brethren, that a Bishop can do little unless aided by the hearty and zealous co-operation of the whole flock over whom the Holy Ghost has made him overseer. If the Church is to take root in Natal, if we are to do the work for which God in His providence has permitted us to occupy the land, if the heathen are to be brought within the fold of Christ, and made fellow heirs with ourselves of the Kingdom of Heaven, it must be by the whole body of the faithful in the land witnessing for Christ by their lives as well as by their words, and by their offering of their substance for the extension of His cause and kingdom.

"Dr. Colenso will (God willing) leave England in the same ship with myself in December. His intention is to remain a few months in the colony to set in order the things that are wanting, and realise the nature and extent of the work which the Church is called upon to grapple with. He then hopes to return to this country to select labourers and raise additional funds, and stir up the Church to take an increased interest in the very important work which lies before it in Natal.

"And now, my brethren, in taking leave of you, and announcing to you that I am about to transfer to another my spiritual charge over the very interesting portion of the diocese in which your lot is cast, 'I commend you unto God and to the word of His Grace which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all them that are sanctified' through faith in Christ Jesus.

"I remain, your affectionate friend and pastor,

"R. CAPETOWN."

A letter from Bishop Gray to Mr. Green which belongs to this period is also worth recording for some interesting notes of future plans of Church work, which have taken years to accomplish. The Bishop writes in 1853 from England, "I have now raised £11,000, and £1600 a year for five years. I have yet to raise £500 a year before our existing work is safe. Our Episcopal meetings were most cheering. Such gentleness and unanimity. At our last meeting we settled that Calcutta, Sydney and Quebec should be Archbishoprics. Elsewhere there will be Metropolitans for Provincial Synods. We settled also to apply for power to send out Bishops on missions beyond the limits of the British Empire. I hope to get the Colonial Bishops now in England to join me in inviting the Archbishop to consult the Bishops as to the terms on which the Church should (through its missionary societies) help the Colonial Church. I feel that this is a most important question. C.M.S. and Colonial Ch. Soc. *virtually exercise the office of the Episcopate at present.*"

It took long years before the decision of the Bishops in 1853 to found Colonial Archbishoprics was carried out. Mr. Keble expressed strong views to the same effect, but there were hindrances from Canterbury even in Archbishop Benson's day. The writer well remembers that in 1893 he ventured to warn Archbishop Benson that if he did not act in the matter, and form a wise and statesmanlike scheme, issuing from the Primate of the Anglican Communion, the Colonial Church

Bishop Gray's letter on his work and plans in England.

Colonial Archbishoprics.

would act independently of him. The Archbishop did nothing, and within a month of the writer's warning to the Archbishop, the Canadian Church, on its own initiative, conferred the title of Archbishop upon its two Metropolitans. The South African Provincial Synod had already resolved that the title of Archbishop should be conferred upon its Metropolitan, whenever the House of Bishops should think fit to do so.

The Lambeth Conference of 1897 was chosen as the fitting occasion for the adoption of the title by the Archbishops of Sydney, Capetown, and the West Indies. Melbourne and Brisbane have recently adopted the title of Archbishop for their Metropolitans. But Calcutta has waited for the title of "Archbishop" since the resolution of the Bishops in 1853, and the entanglements of Church and State in India seem likely to cause further delay.

Bishop Gray's words about Missionary Bishops had to tarry for their fulfilment until he himself cut the Gordian knot, woven by the Crown lawyers, by consecrating Bishop Mackenzie as our first Missionary Bishop in Capetown Cathedral in 1861. The obvious truth of what he said with regard to the C.M.S. and the Colonial and Continental Church Society "virtually exercising the office of the Episcopate," is as plain to us to-day as when he wrote it in 1853.

Bishop
Colenso's rash
views on
polygamy.

It was not very long before the question of native polygamy became acute in Natal. With his usual hastiness Bishop Colenso made up his mind about it at once, and published his views in his *Ten Weeks in Natal* (p. 141). He amazed his clergy by saying that, with the Old Testament polygamy in view, we were bound to baptise and to admit to the Holy Communion natives who wished to combine Christianity with polygamy.

The decision
of the South
African
Church.

The matured conclusion of the Church in South Africa in this matter is that a difference must be made between male and female polygamists. The woman is sold by native law into a species of slavery, and she cannot escape from it. The man is in a different position. He can take one wife, and make provision for the others and their children. The male polygamist is required to put away all his wives, except one, before he is allowed to be baptised. But the woman, married by native law to a polygamist, may be baptised, under special permission from the Bishop of the Diocese, on the understanding that she is not a free agent, and that she would not consent to polygamy if she had freedom of action. We may fitly conclude this chapter with extracts from a letter from Bishop Gray to Mr. Green on the Durban troubles, written in

December, 1855. "You will readily believe that your letters gave me much pain. I do not see that I can do much, but I have written fully to the Bishop, telling him that I think he had no authority to make the alterations he has done in the services, that his doing so has weakened his position, and alarmed people, and suggesting that he might retrace his steps by officially consulting me as Metropolitan, and acting by my advice, rather than at the dictation of the people, to which I think he has already yielded too much."

Bishop Gray's
letter on
Bishop
Colenso's
alterations in
Church ser-
vices.

What these alterations were may be learned from a letter from Bishop Gray to his brother-in-law, Dr. Williamson, dated 1st January, 1856. "The Bishop of Natal has got into great trouble. (i.) By bringing out too many not over-well chosen labourers all at once to a work scarce begun. (ii.) By mistaking the extent of a Bishop's power, altering services, omitting portions of the Liturgy—*e.g.*, psalms, lessons, litany,—and introducing others—*e.g.*, a *new* offertory and prayer for Church Militant, a prayer for heathen, etc.—in fact acting as the sole legislator of the Church. (iii.) By giving way as soon as opposition met him. Matters are in a great mess just now. But I have done the best I could. My cry has always been the *lex scripta* of the Church. It is the only standing ground for a Bishop in a land where there is no civil law to back him up, and where there is no Synod to fall back upon. If he takes up any other standing ground, he will sooner or later fall. The Bishop of Natal has done so against my warning, and has cut away the ground from beneath his feet. People will not submit even to a Bishop's *ipse dixit*. He has startled people by the rapidity of his conclusions (polygamy amongst the number, with reference to the baptism of heathen with more wives than one, upon which he has written a pamphlet) and shaken confidence. They ask—What next?"

CHAPTER II.

THE EUCHARISTIC CONTROVERSY.

1857 to 1858.

Appointment as Dean—Constitution of the Cathedral Chapter—The Dean's discretion as examining chaplain questioned by Bishop Colenso—The correspondence on this subject laid before the Metropolitan by the Dean—The Bishop's two sermons on the Holy Eucharist—Their false doctrine—Action of the Dean and Canon Jenkins (i.) in the Cathedral, (ii.) in their joint presentment of the Bishop to the Metropolitan—The Metropolitan's official reply—The Dean's letter upon it to Bishop Colenso—The Bishop's reply—Some consequences of the controversy.

Constitution
of Dean and
Chapter.

The members
of the
Chapter.

NOTWITHSTANDING the uneasy relations between Bishop Colenso and the Rector of Maritzburg, it was obvious that, if a Dean and Chapter had to be appointed at all, there was only one priest in the diocese, marked out by distinguished abilities, administrative capacity, and long service, who could fitly fill the office of Dean. The Cathedral of St. Peter, Maritzburg, after many delays and disappointments, was opened for divine service on the Feast of the Annunciation in the year 1857. The Bishop of Natal, at the opening service, duly installed Mr. Green as Dean of Maritzburg. After his installation, the Dean installed Archdeacon Mackenzie (Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge), the Rev. John D. Jenkins (Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford), and the Rev. H. Callaway, M.D., as canons in their respective stalls in the choir. Canon Jenkins held the third stall as Chancellor of the Cathedral. The newly installed Chapter of the Diocese of Natal could be compared very favourably with that of any diocese in the Anglican Communion. In addition to the Dean's remarkable powers and abilities, the other original members of the Chapter enriched it by varied gifts of learning and scholarship. Archdeacon Mackenzie was second wrangler at Cambridge, in 1848, when the famous mathematician Todhunter was senior. Canon Jenkins was a deeply read theologian and a most accurate scholar. Dr. Callaway, who left a London practice worth £1500 a year to take up missionary work, has left an honoured name in South

Africa, as the first Bishop of St. John's, Kaffraria. The consecration of Archdeacon Mackenzie, as the first Missionary Bishop of the English Church, in Capetown Cathedral in 1861, was followed all too speedily by his death, just as he had begun his work. But the Universities' Mission of to-day sprang from the seed sown by his life and death.

There is not a Cathedral Chapter in South Africa at the present time that can compare in University distinction, intellectual power, and scientific knowledge, with the Chapter installed in St. Peter's Cathedral, Maritzburg, on Lady Day, 1857.

On 14th March, 1857, Bishop Colenso wrote as follows:—

"MY DEAR GREEN,

Letter of
Bishop
Colenso
offering the
Deanery.

"My wish to appoint you as Dean has nothing to do with my old promise. On every account I desire to do so. Your position in the diocese, your age and standing among the clergy, and the influence you have justly gained among the people—all these would be sufficient reasons for my doing so: but above all these I wish in any way to show the feelings of regard which I myself entertain for you, and the sense I have of the value of those services which you have so often rendered me by your aid and advice, amidst the difficult duties with which I have been charged. Believe me when I say that I am moved to this appointment by a sincere love for yourself, and a cordial esteem for your personal worth, as well as by a sense of duty to the Church, and an appreciation of your character as a clergyman.

"I quite accord with your views about the Chapter; and shall rejoice if Jenkins will accept the appointment. I will assume, unless I hear to the contrary, that you will accept the office of Dean, and write formally to the others in the early part of next week.

"Yours sincerely,

"J. W. NATAL."

This kindly and affectionate letter showed that Bishop Colenso had learnt to value and esteem the Dean's personal worth and character. The Bishop was by nature a warm-hearted and kindly-tempered man. He was subsequently soured and embittered by his environment. He was headstrong and impetuous, but a most loyal friend to those who agreed with his views and did not take an independent line of their own. He was naturally autocratic and self-centred. When a man of his temperament becomes enmeshed with the

Character of
Bishop
Colenso.

perpetual tangles and inconsistencies that beset the path of a Protestant by conviction, who is at the same time attempting to bear rule in the "Ecclesia Anglicana," his worst side is inevitably revealed. A Protestant by conviction, who works apart from the organisation of the Catholic Church, reaps the reward of a consistency which, however it may traverse Catholic order, does not warp the mind and perplex the soul with the consciousness of manifold contradictions, and the need of perpetual explanations. Dr. Colenso looked upon the English Established Church from his own peculiar point of view. It meant to him a negative freedom of belief, conditioned by the Royal Supremacy. He never believed that it had any organic connection with the rest of Catholic Christendom. He was a Protestant in the truest sense of the word. He disliked all authority except his own, and all dogma except the positions which he personally advocated from time to time. His dogmatic creedlessness was Hildebrandine in the fierce insistence of its utterances; and the persons who resisted his views and opinions became to him ultimately "quantities" as negligible as their own arguments, which he brushed aside as futile. He utterly despised his opponents, whilst his warm-hearted disposition led him to speak compassionately of the folly of those who did not agree with him, if they did not personally oppose him. His appointment of the Dean carried with it the approval of the Maritzburg laity. The Dean received the following letter from St. Peter's congregation enclosing a personal gift of £100:—

Gift to the
Dean from
St. Peter's
congregation.

PIETERMARITZBURG,
25th of March, 1857.

"MY DEAR MR. GREEN,

"The opening of St. Peter's Church and your appointment to the office of Dean of Natal presents an opportunity to your congregation to evince their appreciation of your labours amongst them during the past eight years, and to mark their high esteem for your ministerial and personal character. They desire to offer their sincere congratulations on the event of this day, and beg your acceptance of the enclosed cheque for one hundred pounds to be applied to such personal use as you may think proper. I feel honoured in being made the medium of conveying to you this expression of good will, and I trust that you will accept it in the kindly spirit in which it is meant.

"Believe me, dear Mr. Green,

"Your faithful friend,

"J. HENDERSON.

"THE REV. JAMES GREEN, M.A."

This was a generous gift from a small colonial city. The Dean had never courted popularity in the ordinary sense of the term. As Rural Dean, and as Commissary for the Bishop of Capetown before the See of Natal was founded, he had to do many things distasteful to the ordinary lay mind. He had to create Church feeling and loyalty to Church authority in a new colony, barely ten years old when he entered upon his duties and responsibilities as Rector of Maritzburg.

But the loyalty of St. Peter's congregation to their Rector and Dean in the year 1857 must have been a comfort and support to him in the anxieties and trials which so speedily beset him. He was also cheered and encouraged by the following letter from the Metropolitan, which shows how real a thing a Cathedral Chapter may become in a colonial diocese. Bishop Gray wrote as follows:—

Letter from
the Metro-
politan to the
Dean on his
appointment.

"STELLENBOSCH,
"18th April, 1857.

"MY DEAR GREEN,

I congratulate you and your Diocese very sincerely on the foundation of your Chapter, and upon your appointment as Dean. I believe it will be found to be of great service to the Church. But in order to this, it must be understood that you are to be recognised and appointed counsellors and advisers of the Bishop, and are prepared to share with him the responsibility of the means he adopts. I trust that he will advise with you in all matters, and that you all will give expression to the full and free convictions of your minds. I rejoice to hear of the Bishop's great kindness to you; and of the spontaneous act of the parishioners, and still more so, of the delicate and Church-like way in which it was done. Delicacy of feeling is rare in colonies, and is, I think, where it is found, an indication of growth and advancement in the Christian life.

"Ever yours,
"R. CAPETOWN."

The feudal autocracy which secularised the Bishops of the Church of England in the Middle Ages was tempered by the central authority of the Holy See. But the Tudor Reformation severed the Bishops of England from the Papacy, and left them, in the practical abeyance of Metropolitan authority, to enjoy the position of virtually irresponsible diocesan autocrats. The Chapters became *Cathedral*, rather than *Diocesan*. The

The true
function of a
Cathedral
Chapter.

Cathedral Chapter ceased to be the Bishop's standing "Council of Advice," and the true relation of a Bishop to his Council of Priests was lost and forgotten. But the "wise masterbuilders" of the Colonial Church, such as Bishop Gray, soon revived the true office of the Cathedral Chapter. Our unendowed Cathedral Chapters, whose Canons have often to travel to Chapter meetings at their own charges, have restored the true place and dignity of a Cathedral Chapter as the Bishop's standing Council of Advice—ready, according to ancient usage, to tender him their advice in certain circumstances, whether he asks for it or not.

The Durban
troubles.

In the year 1856 the parochial troubles at Durban assumed an acute form. The congregation gave trouble before the See of Natal was formed. They thought that the use of the surplice in the pulpit and the introduction of the weekly collection, accompanied by the use of the Prayer for the Church Militant, meant "Puseyism" and "Popery". They resisted Archdeacon Mackenzie, who was simply carrying out Bishop Colenso's directions. At one time there was fear of mob violence.

Miss Colen-
so's view of
the Durban
Protestants.

In 1891, when Miss Colenso was agitating in England with a view to procuring the consecration of a so-called "Church of England" Bishop to perpetuate the Natal schism, Mr. Saunders of Durban wrote to the *English Churchman* stating that Bishop Colenso was at first prepared to "destroy the work of the Reformation" by opposing the Durban "Protestants" in 1856. Notwithstanding her alliance with Mr. Saunders on the main question of perpetuating the schism, Miss Colenso felt bound to tell the truth about the Durban troubles in 1856. She wrote that "it was the frantic insolence exhibited by some of the Protestants which placed her father necessarily, for a time, in opposition to them". Mr. Rivett, who was subsequently Archdeacon Mackenzie's curate at Durban, writes on 9th July, 1856: "Church affairs in Durban are, I think, worse instead of better. The Bishop has closed St. Paul's for a time, and the Archdeacon holds his services in a large store in West Street, while the malcontents open the Church in defiance of the Bishop, and a layman conducts the services; and those who follow and think with the Archdeacon are called seceders."

Mr. Rivett's
letter.

Protestant
troubles at
Port Eliza-
beth.

The same open disruption for the same alleged causes had already taken place in Port Elizabeth. Archdeacon Merriman took charge of St. Mary's in the interval between the death of the first Rector, Mr. M'Clelland, in 1853, and the arrival of his successor, Mr. Fowle, in 1854. A number of persons walked

out of St. Mary's during service, because the Archdeacon used the surplice in the pulpit and said the prayer for the Church Militant after the collection. The seceders held lay services, and appealed to Bishop Gray against Archdeacon Merriman's "Popish" doctrines and practices. When they were asked to specify their charges in detail, they declined to do so. But they continued their schismatical lay services until Bishop Cotterill's time, when Holy Trinity Church was founded by their efforts as a proprietary Chapel within St. Mary's Parish. It has now been for many years in loyal allegiance to the Church, and its patronage is jointly vested in the Bishop and churchwardens. We mention Port Elizabeth, because in after years the minister of the congregation thus formed expressed open sympathy with Dr. Colenso after his deposition. On 9th August, 1855, with the Port Elizabeth schism fresh in his memory, the Metropolitan wrote to Dean Green; "The Archdeacon (Mackenzie) going to Durban seems a very good move. That place is becoming 'a little Port Elizabeth' in spirit. I trust that the Archdeacon is the man to recover and to teach it."

Bishop Colenso wrote sensibly enough on the Durban troubles on 6th September, 1856, as follows:—

"MY DEAR GREEN,

"I have thought it best upon the whole to adhere to my original purpose of writing quietly to Holland (leader of the dissentients) and asking him to say what *are* the Rites, etc., to which he conscientiously objects. The intention of the dissentients is evidently to make it appear in the eyes of their friends at Capetown and elsewhere that they are overwhelmed with strange practices and ceremonies. I will make them distinctly say *what* they complain of, if I can.

"Yours affectionately

"J. W. NATAL."

The bishop alludes to the handful of Capetown Protestants who were giving trouble to Bishop Gray, and to the dissentients who were in open revolt at Port Elizabeth.

But the opposition of the Durban Protestants, culminating, as we have seen, in the closing of St. Paul's in 1856, did not end there. In 1857 a most foul and slanderous attack was made on Archdeacon Mackenzie's character. The man who assailed him was declared in court to be insane, but the controversy concerning the offertory and the surplice in the pulpit

Slander on
Archdeacon
Mackenzie.

had done their work. The Protestants knew that the slander was disproved, but the religious rancour did not abate.

The Metropolitan wrote indignantly to Dean Green on the subject on 21st August, 1857 :—

“ MY DEAR GREEN,

“ I have heard in town of the fiend-like attempt to blast the character of your good Archdeacon. I doubt not but that the clergy have addressed this servant of God under what cannot but have been to him a severe trial. I trust for their own sakes that the laity of Pietermaritzburg and Durban have done the same. Vile wickedness like this stamps the society in which it is committed. If your laity do not wipe off the stigma, they must not be surprised if other places regard Natal as a place where men patiently look on while the holiest characters are traduced by shameless men. I shall rejoice to hear that Durban sees how this has grown out of its past conduct. Had it not acted as it has done, this wretched man had not presumed to plot so great a wickedness.

“ It surely cannot but be that Satan feels that his kingdom is endangered. He stirs up his emissaries to blacken the characters of those whom he most fears.

“ Ever, dear Green, faithfully yours,

“ R. CAPETOWN.”

Archdeacon Mackenzie wrote to Dean Green after the trial and verdict as follows :—

Archdeacon
Mackenzie's
letter on the
case.

“ The verdict is *not guilty, being under the influence of monomania*. The man is therefore to be kept in safe custody till her Majesty's pleasure is known. I have been trying to look at this as God's decision, as I think you would, but I cannot. Is it not enough to say that the law is God's ordinance, and that all concerned in its administration should remember that they are His instruments—that others should pray for them, and believe that they will be assisted; but that they, being *men*, may and do err? Is this all that you have said or have meant to say? My exculpation was as complete as it could be, and the evidence to prove the falseness of the original charge unimpeachable. The judge was evidently not of the opinion of the jury as to the point of monomania.”

The Durban jury were doubtless prejudiced unconsciously against Archdeacon Mackenzie: and the Dean, knowing well the influence of religious prejudice upon men's judgment, felt the need of the meekness and forbearance which so wonderfully

marked his whole career. His letter to the Archdeacon counselling patience and trust in the hour of trial is unfortunately lost. But the reply of the Archdeacon shows its general tone. The Dean also wrote to the Metropolitan a letter deprecating his severe judgment on the Durban people. Bishop Gray was too great a man to entrench himself behind the dignity of his office, like some modern bishops, who do not invite free counsel from their priests, and hold themselves aloof in autocratic isolation. He replied on 23rd September, 1857: "There is much truth in what you say about the Durban folk—I wrote too severely about them. Your Christian way of viewing the matter is a reproof to me. But I still do think they are very wicked, and that the guilt of this man rests in no small measure on them and their press."

The Metropolitan's
reply.

The British settlers, both in Natal and the Cape Colony, came out at too early a date to be influenced by the Catholic revival, which had not advanced beyond its academic stage in 1848, when most of the Natal settlers arrived.

St. Mary's, Port Elizabeth, was begun in 1825, and the congregation had thus existed twenty-two years before the consecration of Bishop Gray in 1847. The people who seceded from St. Mary's, like their allies in Natal, only read of "Puseyism" in the English papers, and understood nothing about it. Directly Mr. Fowle (who had been Archdeacon Denison's curate) became Rector of St. Mary's in 1854, and began to *teach* the people, a loyal congregation sprang up at St. Mary's, which worked for Church extension, and in later years was the means of building four new churches in Port Elizabeth and its district, and founding the Native Mission there as well. At the present day Port Elizabeth with its nine parish and district Churches is one of the most united centres of Church life and work in South Africa.

But the Protestants of 1856 at Port Elizabeth and Durban had some excuse for their ignorance. They left England when the Church of England was almost at its lowest ebb. Sydney Smith wrote as follows of the state of the Church in the early part of the nineteenth century: "In England I maintain (except among ladies of the middle rank of life) there is no religion at all. The *clergy* of England have no more influence on the people at large than the *cheesemongers* of England." It must be remembered that the British emigrants to Natal and the Cape were, by virtue of their choosing to seek their fortunes in a colony, men of greater energy than the persons who remained contentedly in the mother-country.

Some excuse
for Protestant
ignorance.

Sydney Smith
on the clergy
of his day.

Bishop
Colenso's
laxity.

His sermon
at Richmond.

Their Protestantism was more noisy and "pushful," in proportion to its ignorance, than that of people in England in the same rank of life. The assaults of mob violence in England in the "fifties" were mostly made by bribed loafers, and not by respectable Protestants. With regard to Durban, Bishop Colenso had put himself in the wrong by his own lax treatment of the Prayer Book. The Durban recalcitrants could say to him, "Physician! heal thyself!" In 1856 the Bishop took a fresh departure in the published sermon which he preached at the consecration of the Church of St. Mary, Richmond, the first church consecrated in his diocese. He laid down that the "Offertory" every Sunday was the law of the Prayer Book, and that its omission was "an unworthy selfish custom". He further said that "pew-rents" were an "abominable custom," and that the "poor churchman has no right to be turned with his family into the free seats," and he pledged himself, "under God, to defend the rights of the poor man in this matter".

His surrender
to the Durban
Protestants.

Their
demands.

The result of this outspoken deliverance was the Durban revolt, and the consequent closing of St. Paul's Church by the Bishop. But Bishop Colenso did not stand by his guns. His own Church principles were not founded upon a belief in the corporate life of the Catholic Church as a visible society. To him the question resolved itself into relaxing the requirements of the Prayer Book in Durban, as a piece of opportunism, just as they had been relaxed in England by a century and a half of apathetic neglect. He came to Durban in August, 1857. The Durban malcontents demanded that the Collection at the morning service be discontinued, except on Communion Sunday once a month; that all persons, whether Communicants or not, who signed a declaration that they were *bond-fide* members of the Church of England, should have a vote at vestry meetings; that all pews (except one-fifth of the number) should be let; and that the Bishop should bring a bill into the Natal Parliament to settle Church affairs in the Diocese upon this basis. Writing to Dean Green on the subject of these demands, Archdeacon Mackenzie says: "I suggest a concise answer—*out of the question!*" But Archdeacon Mackenzie had a firm grip of Church principles. The Bishop had *not*. Despite his brave words in his sermon at Richmond, he gave way on every point, and made a complete surrender to Archdeacon Mackenzie's opponents. He made the Archdeacon's position intolerable, and lost from that day forward the confidence of all the loyal clergy and churchmen in Natal. It is curious

that a man so self-willed and headstrong should have eaten his published words, and humiliated himself so completely at the dictation of a faction, who had previously amused themselves by burning him in effigy! No one can deny to Dr. Colenso the merit of being a strenuous champion of his own cause in the after days. He could fight for his own personal convictions, but he was never personally convinced that the Church had laws of her own, which a Bishop must defend and maintain at all costs. He could contradict his sayings at Richmond by his doings at Durban without any qualms of conscience. He was beginning to dislike the Churchmanship of the Dean and Archdeacon Mackenzie, and this (at present) passive dislike was a factor in his active surrender. We use the word "active" advisedly, for he immediately began to draft a bill whose terms were severely criticised by the Dean and Archdeacon Mackenzie. Fortunately it never became law; but the Metropolitan wrote to Dean Green on the question as follows: "I have given the Bishop my views about pew-rents and Acts of Parliament. He is putting his neck under a yoke which will gall him hereafter not a little. I do not think that a dissentient parish, and a coerced Bishop, have a right to prepare a bill which is to govern the whole Church in the Diocese. I have said nothing about the surrender at Durban. That is done, and there is no good in reverting to it."

The inner cause of Bishop Colenso's surrender.

The Durban bill.

The Metropolitan's views upon it.

A side issue of this surrender was an open rupture between the Bishop and the Rev. J. L. Crompton. Mr. Crompton possessed private means, and had settled in Natal for the benefit of his health. He was a Cambridge man, a theologian, a canonist, and a church musician. In after days he became Canon of Maritzburg. He was an enthusiastic Catholic of the early days of the Revival, and was keenly interested in the restoration of the Eucharistic Vestments, and the full ritual prescribed by the Ornaments Rubric. Men out of health sometimes get impatient; and certainly Bishop Colenso did nothing to show sympathy with Mr. Crompton, a stranger in a strange land, compelled by stress of circumstances to sever himself from the dignified and beautiful worship to which he had been accustomed, and compelled to worship at St. Paul's, Durban, because there was no other church for him to go to. He wrote as follows to the Bishop, under date 9th April, 1857:—

Bishop Colenso and Mr. Crompton.

"I have the honour to forward by the Archdeacon a few letters of introduction which I had received to your Lordship. I now write to petition your Lordship to grant me a faculty to

His request.

have a private chapel in my own house—partly on account of the distance of my residence from the church, and partly on account of the great infrequency of celebration of the Holy Eucharist. Being in priests' orders, I shall be my own chaplain, should your Lordship grant my petition. As I do not contemplate residing permanently in Durban, I shall be happy when I leave it to offer such services to your Lordship as my limited strength may enable me to give. The reason why I do not now tender my services is that I have learnt that your Lordship disapproved of a recent suggestion to open a second place of public worship at the west end of Durban. I have delayed writing to your Lordship till my abode was fixed, that I might offer my services if the locality required them.

“I have the honour to be, my Lord,

“Your Lordship's faithful servant,

“JOHN L. CROMPTON.”

His answer to
its refusal.

Mr. Crompton's reasonable request was refused, but he replied to the Bishop on 26th April, 1857, saying that: “Indisposition, which has confined me to bed for two days, has prevented my earlier acknowledgment of your Lordship's kind letter of the 20th instant. I thankfully accept your Lordship's determination concerning my petition, it being a matter so entirely lying at the discretion of the Bishop. Since, however, there are reasons which lead your Lordship to disallow of any additional place of worship in Durban, whether public or private, I petition your Lordship to cause the Holy Sacrifice of the Eucharist to be more frequently offered in the Church at this place.” The letter closed with an offer to help the Bishop to arrange music for the Zulu Prayer Book and hymns. No one can accuse Mr. Crompton of any lack of courtesy towards the Bishop. His appeal for more frequent celebrations of the Holy Eucharist met with no response whatever.

His appeal to
the Bishop
and its result.

But the Durban surrender appeared to Mr. Crompton as a depraving of the Book of Common Prayer. Mr. Crompton wrote to the Bishop to this effect, and on 24th August, 1857, received a curt reply. “I need hardly say,” wrote the Bishop, “that I find no difficulty in reconciling the course of conduct which I have felt it my duty to adopt in reference to the affairs of St. Paul's Church, Durban, either with these expressions of mine which you have quoted, or with a most sincere desire and determination on my part to maintain faith-

fully, as far as in me lies, the discipline as well as the doctrine of the Church of England in this Diocese." The Bishop found it easy to justify his surrender to the Durban people on the principle of *sic volo sic iubeo*. Mr. Crompton felt very strongly about these things, and took certain steps which broke off all relations between Bishop Colenso and himself. On Sunday, 30th August, 1857, the Bishop was at St. Paul's, Durban, and Mr. Crompton left the church at the close of the Litany. We quote the rest of the story from a letter to Dean Green written by Archdeacon Mackenzie. "Crompton has written to the Bishop, pointing out his view of the inconsistency of the Bishop's present conduct with his past published statements, and notifying that he 'does not consider that any allegiance is due from himself to a Bishop who has separated from the English Church by saying that he will not enforce her laws. I have tried to persuade him that, till he is himself commanded to do something unlawful, he is bound to obey: and, in that case, in everything *except the unlawful command*.' He says he does not know where the present downward course may stop, and that he does not wish to bring up his children to a religion that shifts about in this way. He seems to think that he is pinched (I mean that he is personally deprived of his rights as a Churchman) and commanded to do what is unlawful by the Bishop in this matter, because he assumes that the Bishop commands all churchmen to attend the public service, and that service is now contrary to the Rubric on *three* Sundays in *four*. He says he will take upon himself the responsibility of his present course, and believes he is justified in the sight of God and man. He quotes the pamphlet (which I think he gave you) on 'Mission'. I think he may bring the matter before the Bishop of Capetown, and thinks his present course the most likely to draw attention to the case."

Archdeacon
Mackenzie
on Mr.
Crompton.

Mr. Crompton's case was a strong one. His health demanded that he should stay in Natal. He had bought property, and settled definitely in the country. He meant his children to grow up there, as they did; for one of his daughters married Bishop Hamilton Baynes, who succeeded Bishop Macrorie in 1893. He was faced with the alternative of public services contrary to the rubric, or private service in his own house. There were other church people in Durban who thought with him. Was he to be blamed overmuch for his technical breach of Church order in allowing them to join in his private service? Dean Green and Archdeacon Mackenzie desired, as Bishop

Mr. Crompton's line of action partially excusable.

Gray did, to support Bishop Colenso wherever they possibly could. They disapproved strongly of Mr. Crompton's action, though he became afterwards one of the Dean's closest personal friends. Bishop Gray wrote very severely to the Dean about him, and supported Bishop Colenso's action in inhibiting him.

The
Eucharistic
controversy.

We must now deal with a more serious matter. If only Bishop Gray had acted upon the principle of *obsta principiis*, when Bishop Colenso was presented to him for heresy on the Blessed Sacrament, during the controversy of the year 1858, the future of the Diocese of Natal, and of Bishop Colenso himself, might have been different. We have seen that Bishop Colenso's lax Church principles rendered him amenable to pressure from the Durban Protestants. He might have yielded in like manner to pressure from the Metropolitan, if it had been firmly and judiciously applied. But Bishop Gray allowed his personal friendship to his "brother of Natal" to influence him overmuch. It is true that this failure to act in 1858 was redeemed by his vigorous action in 1863. But by that date Bishop Colenso was encouraged by his former impunity to believe that he could say, and write, and do, just as he pleased. The sanction of impunity produced *ἀνομία*. And the offspring of "lawlessness" is heresy and schism.

We must now enter upon the Eucharistic controversy of 1858 in detail. During July, 1857, a difference of opinion between the Dean and the Bishop resulted in a correspondence, forwarded to the Metropolitan, on which he wrote informally to the Dean "that he was too sensitive and too ready to take offence," but that the Bishop had shown himself "hasty, irritable, and perhaps imperious". The Metropolitan, with touching humility, observes further: "These are the sins and infirmities which beset those who have power and authority—sins into which, alas! I am myself daily falling, and to which my dear brother has, I think, yielded". The Dean had resigned his office as Examining Chaplain, and on this the Metropolitan writes: "If he should ask you to resume your office as Chaplain, I hope that you will do so". The Dean obeyed the wish of the Metropolitan, but only to be dismissed from his office by Bishop Colenso in 1858, as the first outcome of the Eucharistic controversy.

The Dean's
resignation as
Examining
Chaplain
recalled.

It arose out of the Dean's work as Examining Chaplain. He felt bound to object to the defective answers of a candidate, and he told the Bishop so. The Bishop wrote to the Dean on 13th February, 1858: "I am very sorry to receive your opinion of Mr. Walton. Will you please let me know more

distinctly on what grounds you have felt it your duty to withhold your recommendation from him? From Mr. Walton's statement I gather that your most serious objection is to the replies which he has given on the subject of the Presence of our Lord in the Holy Eucharist. If such is the case, what is it which you condemn in his doctrines on this point? Or rather, as you represent me in this matter, I feel I ought to ask you what answer do you expect a candidate to give to your supplementary question, *You say that Christ's Presence in the Lord's Supper is spiritual. He is also present when the Church assembles to pray. Distinguish between the manner of His Presence in these cases.*

Bishop
Colenso's
first letter to
the Dean on
the Eucharist.

"Yours very truly,
"J. W. NATAL."

The Dean stated that Mr. Walton's views on the Eucharist were not the only cause of his declining to pass him for ordination. His Scripture papers were unsatisfactory. The Bishop wrote on 15th February: "I cannot but concur in your judgment of Mr. Walton's answers to the Bible paper. When he next comes . . . he will have four papers on the Bible. But now, between ourselves, as your examination papers are supposed, of course, to represent my views of doctrine—those, at all events, which I conceive it to be of essential consequence to insist upon, in the admission of candidates to holy orders—I must ask you to tell me what you exactly meant by the supplementary question, as to the *difference in the manner* in which our Lord is present in the assemblies of the Church for worship generally, and in the Holy Eucharist. I take it for granted that you mean nothing but what I should myself heartily assent to. But the language is certainly liable to another interpretation, and there are views, held by some clergy of the Church of England, with which I could not conscientiously identify myself in any way—believing them to be unsound and unscriptural. I am sure you will not misunderstand me in this matter. I can allow of a wide difference of opinion among the clergy of the Church on many points, wider perhaps than many excellent men, whom I respect and love in the common Faith, would think I ought to allow. But when I am personally responsible, as in this case, for what I do by myself or another, then I feel I must adhere steadfastly to what I believe to be the Truth of God's Word, and take no part in countenancing what appears to me to be error. I would only add that I have no reason to suppose that you hold any view on

The Bishop's
second letter.

the subject of the Eucharist of the kind I have just referred to. But on the other hand, I am bound to say that while I condemn Mr. Walton's Bible answers, his reply to your supplementary question appears to me as complete and satisfactory as I could have expected at his hands.

"Yours very truly,
"J. W. NATAL."

His latitude only in one direction.

His disbelief in Catholic doctrine generally.

His letter to the Metropolitan protesting against the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist.

His letter to the same effect to F.D. Maurice.

The Bishop's view of the position of an Examining Chaplain is somewhat abnormal. It will be noted that Bishop Colenso claims to allow differences of opinion amongst the clergy in a certain direction, which can be learnt from his previous policy in Natal. The opinion that polygamists were to be admitted to full Church privileges had been already not only allowed, but advocated by him. His mind was curiously averse to the study of theology, and his liberalism only ran in one direction. He disbelieved in the visible order of the Catholic Church, and in the Apostolic succession of its ministers. He had no toleration for the Catholic doctrine of the Sacraments. His letter to Dean Green must be interpreted by what he wrote to the Metropolitan on 2nd March, 1858: "I am afraid you will be grieved this mail by a communication from the Dean. . . . The simple fact is that I am directly at issue with him on the subject of our Lord's Real Presence in the Holy Eucharist, and that I feel bound to protest against the views he holds, to the utmost of my power." At a later date he wrote to the Metropolitan: "You have long been aware that I do not agree with those who hold what is called the 'Sacramental system,' and that I regard their views as unscriptural and unsound". In a letter written on this controversy to his friend, the Rev. F. D. Maurice, on 7th December, 1858, in which he combats Mr. Maurice's view that there is "a special Presence" of our Lord in the Holy Eucharist, he says: "But would you say that a missionary deacon, because he lives far away among the heathen, and has no *priest* at hand, cannot partake of the *same kind of spiritual food* as his more favoured brother that lives in town, or that a pious Christian who lives twenty or thirty miles away from town in this land, and thinks it more profitable to himself and his family to hold family worship at home on Sunday, than to ride into town in a broiling sun or pouring rain to partake of the Holy Eucharist, was thereby debarred from any share in the *same kind* of spiritual food which the priest alone can offer him? For this, I repeat, is the real point at issue in the conflict which I am engaged in. The Dean has

distinctly put in words a statement of his belief that in the two Sacraments there is a communication (if by believing we are able to receive it) of our Lord's manhood to us, but in the ordinary assemblies there is *not* a communication to all believing souls of our Lord's manhood. And I distinctly assert that, if there be in the Lord's Supper *a communication of our Lord's manhood*, or whatever may be the mystical blessing expressed by eating His Body and drinking His Blood, we have no Scriptural warrant for saying that the *same kind* of blessing is not given in other modes of communion with Him."

Bishop Colenso adds the following postscript on Mr. Maurice's sermon on Confession. (Mr. Maurice was far from agreement with Dr. Pusey and the Tractarians on this subject. But he did believe in the commission of the priesthood to absolve.) "P.S. I have also read the sermon on Confession. And here again the question arises: What do you understand by priest? Do you mean an episcopally ordained minister with the Apostolical succession only? or would you say (*as I certainly should*) that the absolution which came from the lips of a 'discreet and learned' old dissenting minister, with the experience of age, and the ripe savour of a tried and faithful Christian life about him, was just as valid to the sin-burdened conscience as that which might be pronounced by some young curate full of his notions of priestly authority?" Mr. Maurice, as will be seen subsequently, had written to Bishop Colenso at Bishop Gray's request. To put it broadly, Bishop Colenso had embraced the traditions of a militant Protestantism, which cannot be reconciled with the Catholic theology of the Book of Common Prayer. He rejected the Catholic doctrine of the Priesthood and the Sacraments of the Gospel. His denial of the distinction between "sacramental" and "spiritual" communion shows that he knew nothing of Catholic theology. He did not realise that the Anglican rubric on "spiritual" communion, when the sick person is physically incapable of receiving the Holy Eucharist, is derived from the Sarum rubric to the same effect. The Penitential of Archbishop Egbert of York (eighth century) speaks thus of the case of a person dying without the Viaticum. "Si homini alicui Eucharistia denegata est, et ipse interea moriatur, de his rebus nihil aliud coniciere possumus, nisi quod ad iudicium Dei pertineat, quoniam in Dei potestate erat, quod absque eucharistia obierit." This reverent utterance is poles asunder from Bishop Colenso's Protestant dogmatism on spiritual communion. No Catholic theologian would venture to assert that "spiritual" communion

His denial of
the Apostolic
Succession.

Bishop
Colenso's
Protestantism.

His confusion
of "Spiritual"
with "Sacra-
mental"
Communion.

Archbishop
Egbert on
"Spiritual"
Communion.

Its true
significance.

Neither
Calvinist,
nor Zwing-
lian.

The Dean's
first reply.

conveyed "the *same kind* of spiritual food" that is received in *sacramental* communion. St. Augustine's *tantum crede, et manducasti* only asserts that God will make up to the person physically debarred from *sacramental* communion the loss thus incurred, since it is by God's ordaining providence that the person thus debarred suffers this loss. The blessings of "spiritual" communion are the blessings of an act of faith, worship and trust, such as is made by persons who are present at the Holy Eucharist without communicating. Those deprived of the Holy Eucharist through no fault of their own can in like manner make this act of faith, worship and trust, which is called "spiritual" communion, by spiritually and mentally uniting themselves with the offering of "the Lord's own Service," though absent in body. But it cannot be pressed so far as to identify it with "sacramental" communion, and least of all can it be pressed in support of the Calvinistic subjective view that the faith of the recipient *creates* the Eucharistic presence, or, as Bishop Colenso believed with Zwingli, that there is *no Eucharistic Presence* which differs in kind from our Lord's Presence, when "two or three are gathered together in His Name" for common worship. Our Lord's Presence, in an ordinary act of worship, differs in its manifestation and purpose from that special Eucharistic and Objective Presence of His Godhead and Manhood glorified, which is given for the purpose of strengthening in us His Incarnate Life, of which we first become partakers when we are made His members in our Baptism. Thus the Sacraments of the Gospel may fitly be termed, in Bishop Jeremy Taylor's words, *the extension of the Incarnation* (*Worthy Communicant*, i. 2). This preliminary synopsis of Bishop Colenso's false teaching seems necessary to the writer, because the subsequent correspondence will thereby become more intelligible. Besides which the writer feels, as an intimate personal friend of the Dean in his old age, and as in concord with the Dean as a theologian, that it is fairer to the readers of this biography to let Bishop Colenso's false teaching appear in his own words. We now resume the correspondence. The Dean replied to the Bishop's two letters as follows :—

16th February, 1858.

"I should have replied on the former occasion to your enquiry but that it stood, 'If such is the case, please, etc.'; it *not* being the case, I thought it better not to mix up anything unnecessary with matter of a certain official character.

"In answering my question I should commence by defining

Presence thus: Any person or thing is said to be present where it can discharge its functions. *Presence* therefore can differ both in kind and degree; *in kind* according to the number of functions capable of being performed; *in degree* according to the completeness with which they are discharged: e.g., a man is present, if he can *see*; the *kind* of presence is more perfect if he can both see and hear; the *degree* depends upon his power of seeing and hearing. Our Lord's Presence, in our ordinary assemblies, I believe to be of this kind; though His human soul and body are locally in the Highest Heaven, at a distance probably far greater than we can conceive, yet as Man He hears every prayer, every confession, every word of praise, and sympathises with every feeling; not through His Glorified Body being endowed with the power of omnipresence, which is an attribute of Godhead, but through the Power of His Divine Spirit. This Presence is *in degree* perfect, the attention of the sons of men may flag and wander, but every word, every sigh, every thought, is known to our Lord's Human Nature; so, though His Presence be not within the cognisance of our senses, yet it is infallibly certain that, as Man, He is present where two or three are gathered together in His Name. Our Lord's Presence in the Holy Eucharist differs *in kind* from the former Presence. In this there is a communication (if by believing we are able to receive it) from His Manhood to ours, so that we are made members of His Body, of His Flesh, and of His Bones; *our sinful bodies are made clean by His Body, and our souls washed through His most precious Blood*. The Holy Spirit is, in this kind of Presence as in the other, the Agent. In degree this Presence is again of necessity perfect. We must ascribe imperfection to our reception, but cannot to His Presence, which, though locally *there*, where He ascended, is yet (for the communication of the gifts which He would thereby bestow) *present* through the Spirit—so truly present, that the Bread which we break is the *Communion of the Body of Christ*, the Cup which we bless is the *Communion of the Blood of Christ*.

His masterly analysis of the meaning of Presence.

The difference in general of the Special Eucharistic Presence.

"Believe me, yours very faithfully,

"JAMES GREEN."

Bishop Colenso replied as follows on 20th February, 1858:—

Bishop Colenso's third letter.

"Thanks for your note, with most of which, of course, I agree. But with reference to the most important passage in

it, viz., ‘*Our Lord’s Presence in the Holy Eucharist differs in kind from the former presence (in the ordinary assemblies of the Church) in this, that there is a communication, if by believing we are able to receive it, from His Manhood to ours—so that we are made members of His Body, of His Flesh, and of His Bones—our sinful bodies are made clean by His Body, and our souls washed through His most precious Blood.*’ Am I to understand you to say that such a communication *only* takes place in the Holy Eucharist—that in the ordinary assemblies there is *not* a communication to all believing souls of our Lord’s Manhood—that we are *not* made members of His Body, of His Flesh, and of His Bones—eating the Living Bread—feeding upon the Body and Blood of Christ our Lord, profitably to our soul’s health—as really and truly, and in *the very same kind of way*, whenever we act any act of true faith upon our Risen Lord, as when, at His command, we press the Sacrament with our mouth, and eat the Bread and drink the Wine in remembrance of Him?

“Yours very truly,

“J. W. NATAL.”

The Dean’s
second reply.

The Dean replied on 22nd February, 1858, as follows:—

“I received your letter on Saturday, propounding three questions:—

“(i) *Do I say that such a communication only takes place in the Holy Eucharist?*”

“I answer, *No*; without confusing the grace of Baptism with that of the Eucharist. I consider my answer will embrace both.

“(ii) *In the ordinary assemblies is there not a communication to all believing Souls of our Lord’s Manhood?*

“I answer, *No*.

“(iii) *Do I say that we are made members of His Body, of His Flesh, and of His Bones, eating the Living Bread, feeding upon the Body and Blood of Christ our Lord, profitably to our soul’s health, as really and truly, and in the very same kind of way, whenever we act any act of true Faith upon our Risen Lord, as when at His command we press the Sacrament with our mouth, and eat the Bread and drink the Wine in remembrance of Him?*

“I answer, certainly *not*, the idea is inadmissible.

“Yours very faithfully,

“JAMES GREEN.”

Bishop
Colenso’s
fourth letter.

Bishop Colenso replied on 24th February, 1858, as follows:—

“Your note reached me yesterday. I can only say that my reply to the last two questions would be directly the opposite to yours. I am aware, of course, that the views which I now for the first time distinctly understand you to hold, are held also by many excellent men, ministering within the Church of England. But they appear to me to be at variance with the plain teaching of Our Lord Himself in John vi., and with that of our Church in the Rubric at the end of the Service for the Communion of the sick. And I feel myself bound in my conscience to protest against them, as derived from man’s theorising, not from God’s Revelation. Under these circumstances, as our views are so directly opposed to each other on points of such importance, I do not see how you can possibly represent me as Examining Chaplain either with comfort to yourself or with satisfaction to me, and I imagine you will feel the same. I will ask you, however, to be so good as to present Mr. Baugh to me on Sunday, in the absence of the Archdeacon: I purpose to preach on the occasion at the end of the ‘Morning Prayers’. And if at that, or at any other time, I shall be led to say things, as I feel I must say them, which will contradict your teaching as I now understand it, you will, I am sure, do me the justice to believe that I shall not be preaching against you, or at you, but only delivering my own conscience according to the light vouchsafed to me, in the sight of God and the Church. I need hardly say that nothing that has happened in this matter ought to interfere with our relations of personal friendship, or prevent my deriving valuable assistance, as I have so often done, from your counsel and co-operation in matters affecting the interests of the Church.

“Yours very truly,

“J. W. NATAL.”

The letters of the Bishop, dated 15th February, 20th February, and 24th February, were sent with the Dean’s appeal for the judgment of the Metropolitan. With them were also sent the Dean’s replies of 16th February and 22nd February. But the following letter from the Dean was (unfortunately as the writer thinks) not forwarded to the Metropolitan:—

“25th February, 1858.

“MY DEAR LORD,

“I have received your letter of the 24th, breathing throughout the language of great personal kindness towards myself, but identifying yourself with the affirmative of the

The Dean’s
third reply
to Bishop
Colenso.

questions proposed to me, and pronouncing it derived from man's theorising, and not from God's revelation, to distinguish between our Blessed Lord's Presence in the Eucharist, and in our ordinary assemblies for the worship of prayer and praise; and from such Presence as we may humbly hope He vouchsafes when we act an act of true faith upon Him. As your Lordship has referred me to St. John vi., I have thought it my duty to read it (having done so, I fail to discover that my answers to your Lordship's questions are at variance with it), so also the Rubric referred to;—both it, and the older Latin form of it (see Palmer's *Origines Liturgicae*, vol. ii. p. 223), by justifying in extreme cases a departure from a particular law, makes in all other cases that rule absolute. But to enter into controversy I feel far from being able, neither may I do so with your Lordship, as by so doing I should be pronouncing judgment upon my Bishop. Inasmuch, however, as I am unable to doubt that Holy Scripture, and the practice and teaching of the whole Catholic Church in all ages, are at variance with the affirmative of your Lordship's *second* and *third* questions, and more especially the *third*;—and that to affirm them is unlawful, I feel it my duty, as a minister in the Church of Christ to report to the Bishop of Capetown that your Lordship *does* affirm them, and to solicit his judgment. That your Lordship proposes to preach upon these things I of course regret, but readily accept your assurance that it is from a sense of duty, and with regret at having to oppose me. I trust your Lordship will so interpret what I do. I must say then, that as the clergy of the Second Order under your Lordship in this Diocese may be called upon to assist in examining and laying on of hands, it is but right that they should know why, having hitherto assisted you, I can do so no longer. Could an early reply have been expected from the Bishop of Capetown [he was in England, A. T. W.] it would have been enough to have awaited in silence that answer, and then to have laid it before them; but as a long interval must elapse, during which each must act upon his own judgment, I think it only due to them to lay before them your Lordship's three questions with your affirmation of them, and commentary upon my denial; and assuring you that you may at all times continue to count upon such poor assistance in the discharge of the duties of your exalted office as I am able to render,

“ Believe me to remain,

“ Yours very faithfully,

“ JAMES GREEN.”

To this courteous letter the Bishop of Natal replied as follows on 26th February :—

Bishop
Colenso's
fifth letter.

"MY DEAR DEAN,

"I cannot possibly object to your communicating to the clergy the correspondence that has passed between us on the subject of the Holy Eucharist. With regard to one passage in your last note, in which you say that I pronounce it derived from man's *teaching* [the Bishop had used the word 'theorising,' A. T. W.], and not from God's revelation, to distinguish between our Blessed Lord's Presence in the Eucharist, etc., I should wish you to insert, for the sake of clearness, after the word *distinguish*, these words, *in kind, as I do*. Just as I believe that there is a special and higher blessing promised by virtue of our Lord's Special Presence, where two or three are gathered together in His Name, beyond that which is promised to private prayer, and yet the kind of Presence is the same in both cases, so I hold that the *Highest* and *Holiest* form of worship, in which we can eat the Flesh and drink the Blood of the Son of Man, is when we partake together of the One Bread and the One Cup, as members of One Body in Him. Of course I cannot in any way object to any course you may think it right to take with the Bishop of Capetown. Meanwhile I rejoice that we are agreed that our friendly relations shall continue as before, while each takes that course which his sense of duty points out to him.

"Yours very truly,

"J. W. NATAL."

This correspondence shows very plainly the *impar con-* Contrast
gressus between the Bishop's ignorance of theology, and the between the
Dean's careful statements, as a trained theologian. The idea Bishop's
that our Lord's Presence in the Eucharist is of the *same kind* ignorance and
as that vouchsafed to us in the ordinary assemblies of the the Dean's
Church, is purely Zwinglian, and cannot be fairly reconciled knowledge.
with the Book of Common Prayer. In the Prayer of Humble
Access the words "grant us so to eat, etc.," point definitely to a
Real Objective Presence.

In March, 1868, Professor Conington, the eminent classical Professor
scholar, contributed an article to the *Contemporary Review* in Conington on
which the following passage occurs: "My chief object in the Prayer of
referring to this Prayer (*i.e.*, the Prayer of Humble Access) is Humble
to make an admission which it seems to me candour requires. Access as
I believe it to be the one part of our present Communion the Objective
Office where words occur which, when understood in their Presence.

natural and obvious sense, not only admit, but assert the Doctrine of an Objective Presence. When we pray that we may 'so eat the Flesh of Christ and drink His Blood, that our sinful bodies may be made pure and our souls washed' we necessarily imply that we might eat the Flesh and drink the Blood with a different result. We imply, in short, what is contended for by Archdeacon Denison and Dr. Pusey in reference to the Twenty-ninth Article."

We need not lay undue stress on this single phrase, which comes from the similar Prayer in the Sarum and York Missals, "Da nobis hoc corpus et sanguinem Filii Tui Domini Dei nostri Iesu Christi *ita sumere*, ut mereamur, etc." The Anglican Mass, though curtailed and transposed in some of its parts, is yet the Mass of Catholic Christendom, and bears its undying witness to the Catholic doctrine of the Real Objective Presence, and the Holy Sacrifice of the Altar, which is its complement and consequence. The Dean's careful words, which define the nature of a Presence, in his letter of 16th February, and his luminous definition of the difference between the Presence of our Lord in our ordinary assemblies for worship, and the special Presence of His glorified humanity in eternal union with His Godhead in the Holy Eucharist, show how clearly the Dean had grasped the teaching of the Catholic Church. But in fairness to Bishop Colenso, we readily admit that he did not invent a new heresy in his denial of the Objective Presence of our Lord in the Sacrifice of the Altar. The peculiar form of error which he advocated appears in Cranmer's treatise on the Eucharist. It also appears in Jewell's "Controversy with Harding" (*Works*, ii. 450): "The faithful may otherwise eat Christ's Body, and that verily and indeed, and not only in the Sacrament". Geste is also quoted in Mr. Sedley Taylor's pamphlet on the Eucharist (published in 1867) as saying: "Because it is thought sufficient to use but a surplice in baptising, reading, preaching, praying, therefore it is enough for the celebrating of the Communion. For if we should use another garment herein, it should seem to teach us that higher and better things be given by it than by the other service, which we must not believe."

The vestments must not be used, because the service of the Altar must not be marked off as superior to any ordinary assembly of worship. This is the usual root objection to a distinctive dress for the celebrant. It is not always expressed by Protestants in so many words, but it is always implied. The Rev. G. F. Cobb quotes a beneficed clergyman of the

Bishop
Colenso's
heresy not
new.
Cranmer and
Jewell.

Geste.

Church of England, as saying: "According to my views of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, I should have no hesitation whatever in asking my churchwarden to celebrate for me next Sunday, if it were only legal in point of order for him to do so" (*Sequel to the Kiss of Peace*, p. 121).

Heresy of an
English
Clergyman.

This is a fair parallel to Bishop Colenso's denial of the Apostolic ministry in his letter to Mr. Maurice, which has been previously quoted. But the fact that certain persons have taught foreign Protestant heresy on the Eucharist from Bishop Hooper's days to the present time, within the Church of England, does not excuse the condonation of this heresy by those who are set in authority in the Church.

If Bishop Gray had made a bold stand for the truth revealed to the Church concerning the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar in 1858, the subsequent heresies of Bishop Colenso might have developed in a form which would have been repressed with less difficulty. But his conduct of this matter shows that he stretched every point in favour of the erring Bishop, and that he was led away by the defective Eucharistic theology of Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, whose advice on the subject he seems to have taken. The Dean's appeal to him was as follows:—

The Metro-
politan's
undue
leniency.

The Dean's
first Appeal to
the Metro-
politan.

"TO THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF CAPETOWN
AND METROPOLITAN.

"RIGHT REVEREND FATHER,

"Inasmuch as I find in Holy Scripture that a Catholic jurisdiction over the Faith was exercised by the Apostles, so that, whilst St. Paul was careful not to labour in another's field, he yet withstood St. Peter at Antioch, and an account of his teaching was required of St. Paul by the other Apostles;—And as by her Majesty's Letters Patent, founding the See and Diocese of Capetown, it is particularly required of your Lordship to exercise visitatorial power within this Diocese of Natal;—and further, as I believe the Lord Bishop of Natal has taken an oath of canonical obedience to your Lordship as Metropolitan;—I do, with all humility and in much fear, represent unto your Lordship that by a letter dated 15th February, 1858 (see enclosure No. i.), the Lord Bishop of Natal required me to state what I understood *to be the difference of manner in which our Lord is Present in the assemblies of the Church for worship generally, and in the Holy Eucharist*; to which I replied by letter (see enclosure No. ii., 16th February). His Lordship then in a letter (see enclosure No. iii., 20th

February) propounded three questions, to which I replied by letter (see enclosure No. iv., 22nd February). His Lordship's answer is contained in enclosure No. v., 24th February. And I now entreat your Lordship as Bishop and Metropolitan to decide;

"I. Whether it be lawful for a Bishop to protest against my statements, as derived from man's theorising and not from God's Revelation?

"II. Whether it be lawful for a Bishop to affirm, as his Lordship the Bishop of Natal does, his *second* and *third* questions in his letter of 20th of February, and more especially the *third*?

"I do the more earnestly entreat your Lordship to resolve these my most painful doubts, for that his Lordship states, in his letter of 15th February, that his chaplain must represent his views of doctrine, *'those at all events which I conceive to be of essential consequence to insist upon in the admission of candidates to Holy Orders'*; and in his letter of 24th February; *'Under these circumstances, as our views are so directly opposed to each other, on points of such importance, I do not see how you can possibly represent me as Examining Chaplain'*; and as his Lordship pronounces my sentiments derived from man's theorising, and not from God's Revelation, and considers himself in conscience bound in preaching to contradict my teaching; I do therefore infer that candidates for admission to Holy Orders, not being able to affirm his Lordship's *second* and *third* questions, will be rejected by his Lordship, and such men will be sought for the priesthood in this Diocese, and such only, as concur in these sentiments of his Lordship; thus, I do humbly submit, inflicting upon this Diocese the heavy burden of an unorthodox ministry.

"I am, Right Reverend Father,

"Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

"JAMES GREEN,

"Dean of the Cathedral Church of
St. Peter, Pietermaritzburg."

Danger of the
Diocese of
Natal being
infected with
Zwinglianism.

As we shall see presently, the Metropolitan ignored the closing paragraph of the Dean's appeal. And yet it was of vital importance. The Bishop held the Zwinglian view of the Holy Eucharist in a peculiarly dangerous and offensive form. He had dismissed the Dean from his office of Examining Chaplain, because he declined to teach, or consent to the teaching of, the Zwinglian heresy in the Diocese of Natal.

The Dean's contention that the Bishop would seek for persons who held his heretical views, for ordination in the Diocese, was both logical and obvious. The real question was this: Did the fact that certain persons had, from time to time, held and taught the Zwinglian heresy in the Church of England, give this heresy a *prescriptive right* to exist in the Anglican Communion generally? And it was not merely *existence* for the heretical view which Bishop Colenso was claiming, but a virtual predominance. No other interpretation could be put upon his summary dismissal of the Dean from the office of Examining Chaplain. Archbishop Temple was a Broad Churchman. But in his Primary Charge, he declared that the Zwinglian heresy was not admissible within the Church of England. He defined the Zwinglian heresy as follows; the views that "no *special* gift is bestowed in the Sacrament, but that the value of it, mainly if not entirely, resides in the effect produced upon the soul of the receiver by the commemoration of that wonderful act of love—our Lord's Sacrifice of Himself on the Cross" (*Charge delivered at his first Visitation by Frederick, Archbishop of Canterbury*, p. 6).

It may be well to compare the actual teaching of Zwingli with that of Bishop Colenso. The Bishop's denial of the Apostolic Ministry and the "Potestas clavium" in his letter to Mr. Maurice, where he said that he considered the absolution pronounced by a godly dissenting minister as of equal validity with that pronounced by a validly ordained priest, may be fitly paralleled with Zwingli's words: "*Ordo sacer, quem perhibent animæ characterem quendam infligere, humanum figmentum est. Qui ergo administrat Verbum Episcopus est;*" which may be rendered, "Holy Order, which they say impresses a certain *character* upon the soul, is a human figment. Whosoever ministers the Word is a *Bishop*" (*De vera et falsa Rel.* ii. p. 217). Here we have a ministry, self-constituted by the *act* of ministering:—Bishop Colenso's very idea of a devout dissenting minister being *ipso facto*, by virtue of his ministering the Word, a valid channel of Absolution. "Claves sunt Pascere," said Zwingli. Absolution is not the formal ministerial act of a valid priesthood: it is merely "a preaching of the Gospel". According to Zwingli, Sacraments are merely "signs and ceremonies, by which a man proves to the Church that he is a soldier of Christ (quibus se homo Ecclesiæ probat militem esse Christi)" (*op. cit.* ii. 198).

Bishop Colenso held Zwingli's theory of Baptism, as will appear in a future chapter. Baptism, according to Zwingli,

does not *make* men "sons of God," but those who are *already* "sons of God" receive a token or *seal* of sonship (*op. cit.* ii. 477). "Baptism does not take away sin" (*ib.* p. 121).

"Hoc est corpus Meum," is interpreted by Zwingli as follows: "This *is* (that is *signifies*) My Body. Which is to be explained further as if a matron, showing the ring of her husband left to her by him, should say, Lo! this *is* my husband." ("Hoc *est*, id est *significat*, corpus meum. Quod perinde est, ac si quæ matrona coniugis sui annulum ab hoc ipsi relictum monstrans, *En! coniux hic meus est*, dicat") (*ib.* ii. p. 293.)

The Zwinglian formulary for the Lord's Supper most carefully avoided any form of consecration of the elements. The Mass was of set purpose abolished by the Zwinglians of Zurich, and an entirely novel rite, involving the doctrine of "a Real Absence" instead of "a Real Presence," was set up in its place.

The followers of Zwingli were honest and consistent in abolishing the Priesthood and the Mass. But for a Bishop of the Catholic Church to claim the right to hold the Zwinglian heresy himself, and to punish the Dean for holding the orthodox doctrine of the Book of Common Prayer, by depriving him of his office of Examining Chaplain, was a claim that ought not for one instant to have been tolerated.

We must now proceed with the sad history of the Metropolitan's toleration of the Bishop of Natal. The Bishop, in his letter of 24th February, had warned the Dean that he meant to preach the Ordination Sermon on Sunday, 2nd March, and that he must say things that would contradict the Dean's teaching. The Dean replied courteously, "that your Lordship purposes to preach on these things I of course regret, but readily accept your assurance that it is from a sense of duty, and with regret at having to oppose me".

The Dean and Canon Jenkins were present at the Ordination at St. Peter's Cathedral, and the Bishop was as good as his word. The controversy had hitherto been private, but he now made it public by his first sermon on the Eucharist, which advocated in public the Zwinglianism of his private letters to the Dean. The Dean and Canon Jenkins, who was also a Catholic theologian, were pained and distressed beyond measure at the Bishop's utterances. Had they stood alone, and apart from his letters to the Dean, the Bishop's heretical statements might have been endured in patience. But the Dean and Canon Jenkins could not construe the sermon apart from its

The Bishop's
first sermon
on the
Eucharist.

immediate setting. Both of them were men of their epoch, when more attention was paid to fourth century precedents amongst Anglicans than is now the case. They knew full well that to communicate at the Altar with a heretic was to incur the risk of condoning his heresy. The ancient Church was to them, as it should be to us, a decisive authority on this point. So after the sermon they left the Cathedral for a few moments' consultation, in which they agreed not to receive the Holy Communion, on that occasion, at the Bishop's hands. They felt keenly the incongruity of his spoken words with the solemn words which the Church caused him to use at the Altar, although they were well aware of the consequences and limits of the Catholic doctrine of "Intention".

But, speculation apart, we have the Dean's official and formal explanation of the action which he and Canon Jenkins felt themselves bound to take. "As Divines taught that we could communicate in doctrine, we had on that account abstained, and not from not being in charity." The Dean summoned the Chapter to consult with him upon the false teaching contained in the Bishop's first sermon. It is the ancient and inalienable right of a Cathedral Chapter to meet, apart from the Bishop, and to tender him their advice, even if he does not ask for it. The Chapter had "the power of initiation, in case of a Bishop's vicious living, *misbelief*, mal-administration or contempt of their own rights" (Abp. Benson's *Cathedral*, p. 68). This provision has been embodied *eo nomine* in the Cathedral Statutes of Capetown and Grahamstown.

The Dean
and Canon
Jenkins
abstain from
Communion.

Their reason
for so doing.

The Dean
summons the
Chapter to
consider the
Bishop's
sermons.

CHAPTER III.

1858.

The Eucharistic Controversy—Bishop Colenso's sermons presented to the Metropolitan—His reply—And its consequences.

The Bishop's
letter before
his second
sermon.

WE must proceed in due course with the correspondence that passed between the Dean and Bishop Colenso. The Bishop wrote to the Dean on 5th March, 1858, as follows:—

“As I purpose, with God's assistance, to preach and administer the Holy Communion at the Cathedral on Sunday morning next, I should wish to know beforehand what course yourself and Canon Jenkins mean to pursue, in regard to the matter which has raised so serious a difference between us; and, in particular, I must beg you to inform me whether you purpose to communicate with me or not, on that occasion.

“Yours very faithfully,

“J. W. NATAL.”

The Dean's
reply.

To this letter the Dean replied on the same day as follows:—

“MY DEAR LORD,

“Out of respect for your Lordship's office, and that you may personally feel that we do not act hastily, or without careful thought, both Mr. Jenkins and myself have desired to take the advice of others before addressing your Lordship. As therefore one of the rules of the Chapter, which had your approval, empowers me to summon it to meet whenever I see occasion; and feeling the question before us to be of the utmost moment, and needing the gravest counsel; I have called upon the Archdeacon and Dr. Callaway to attend that they may advise in this matter. So soon therefore as the Chapter shall have sat, we shall be able to reply to your Lordship's inquiry as to what course we propose to pursue. With regard to communicating next Sunday, I certainly desire to do so, and do not anticipate not doing so. You must excuse my noticing your saying *to communicate with me, or not*. I explained

to your Lordship last Sunday that we did not communicate, to avoid participating in the *doctrine* just before set forth. The distinction is important, and it is necessary to observe it, lest we unduly complicate a position difficult and painful.

"Yours very faithfully,

"JAMES GREEN."

The Dean's letter shows the careful courtesy with which he avoided the mingling of a personal issue with a grave doctrinal question.

Bishop Colenso preached his second sermon on the Holy Eucharist in the Cathedral on the third Sunday in Lent, 1858. It contained an amplification of his previously expressed Zwinglianism. But the Dean and Canon Jenkins made their Communion on that occasion, Canon Jenkins having explained to the Bishop verbally, as the Dean had in writing, that their abstention on the previous Sunday had been a protest against his doctrine, and that they did not wish their action to be regarded as a personal issue. On 12th March the Bishop wrote as follows :—

The Dean and Canon Jenkins communicate after the Bishop's second sermon.

"MY DEAR DEAN,

"In accordance with your note of 5th March, now that I presume the Chapter has sat, I am expecting a reply from yourself and Canon Jenkins, as to the course you propose to pursue, with reference to my sermons. Meanwhile I must request you to furnish me with a copy of the *Minutes* of the late meetings of Chapter; together with a copy of the *Summons* by which the clergy were convened. Under existing circumstances, I have decided that it will be my duty to attend and preach at the Cathedral regularly on Sunday mornings for the present.

The Bishop demands the minutes of the Chapter meeting.

"I am, my dear Dean,

"Faithfully yours,

"J. W. NATAL."

The last sentence in the Bishop's letter was a species of challenge to the Dean. The Bishop may have been within his rights in preaching in the Cathedral, but he could hardly expect any other inference to be drawn from his action but that he was attempting to preserve the Cathedral congregation from what he called "the unsound and unscriptural teaching" of the Dean, by preaching himself. The Dean's answer to this letter was plain and to the point :—

" 13th March, 1858.

" MY DEAR LORD,

The Dean's
reply.

" In reply to your letter of yesterday I have only to say that I purpose to lay the case before the Bishop of Capetown. I have mentioned to Mr. Jenkins, who has the custody of our records, your wish to have a copy of the *Minutes* of our last Chapter. They shall be forwarded to your Lordship as soon as he has prepared them, which he told me he could not do till after Sunday.

" Faithfully yours,

" JAMES GREEN."

Reason for
the Dean's
strong word-
ing of the
Chapter
summons.

The perusal of the Chapter Minutes made the Bishop very angry indeed. The wording of the "Summons" to the Chapter, in which the Dean had used the words that the Bishop's sermons involved "putting forth of heresy, as it seems to me," may have been over definite. But the Dean had to assign an urgent cause to bring Dr. Callaway from his distant mission station, and Archdeacon Mackenzie from Durban.

Travelling in Natal, in those pre-railway days, was not only costly, but fatiguing, and if the Dean's summons had not expressed in plain terms why he felt it necessary to call a special Chapter meeting, the non-resident members of the Chapter would have had some right to complain, especially as, like most South African Canons, they had to pay their own travelling expenses, and their Canonries carried no emoluments. If the Dean had not said that he personally thought the Bishop's sermons involved heresy, and that he wished the Chapter's advice as to his action, he would not have been acting candidly towards the Chapter. Besides which the Dean could not be fairly charged with "sitting in judgment" on his Bishop, if he expressed his own opinion on the character of the Bishop's teaching. To express an *opinion*, and even a strong opinion, is one thing. To *sit in judgment* is quite another thing. But Bishop Colenso was too angry to be able to discern this. He wrote as follows on 18th March, 1858 :—

The Bishop
forbids the
Chapter to
meet without
his leave.

" I have to thank you for a copy of the Minutes of the late meetings of the Chapter, and of the *Summons* by which you convened the clergy, which Canon Jenkins has supplied to me by your direction. I had taken for granted, on first hearing from you that you had summoned the Chapter, that you had called it to give you advice, for your own private guidance, under circumstances of difficulty arising from my sermons. And, although I felt the inconvenience of your

disturbing the clergy in this way, in the midst of their duties, and calling them from the ends of the Diocese for your own personal objects, I was quite willing to make every allowance for the peculiarity of your position, and to overlook the fact of your making this improper use of the power which I confided to you for very different purposes. I perceive, however, by the language of the *Summons* which you issued to the clergy, that you have gone far beyond this, and taken upon yourself the unseemly office of pronouncing judgment upon your Bishop in your public capacity, and have accordingly summoned your Chapter to consider what is to be done with regard to my *putting forth of heresy, as it seems to you*. I could not have supposed that you would have so far forgotten yourself, and abused the trust reposed in you. And I feel it to be now my duty to say that I revoke my sanction altogether from the rule of Chapter to which you refer in your letter of 5th March, and forbid your summoning the clergy from their duties in the Diocese, except with the Bishop's permission.

"I am, my dear Dean,

"Faithfully yours,

"J. W. NATAL."

A Cathedral Chapter is a body which possesses certain inherent rights by virtue of the "Lex" and "Mos" which constitute the Canon Law of Christendom. It was open to the Bishop of Natal, at that date, to govern his Diocese without the aid of a Cathedral Chapter. But having constituted a Chapter, he could not abolish one of its inherent rights. The Chapter could not only be summoned by the Dean, as its head, but in cases of urgency could summon *itself*, by a requisition of the majority of the Canons. In this latter case it was said "se ipsum convocare". His letter, forbidding the Dean to summon the Chapter without his permission, was a manifestation of Episcopal *ἀνομία* under the form of auto-Episcopal *ἀνομία*. He was also inconsistent with himself in his dealings with the Chapter. On 12th March, he demanded of the Dean a copy of the "minutes" and the "summons," which was duly furnished to him, whilst only two days before he wrote peremptorily to the Dean to say, "I must decline to receive any communication from the Chapter on the subject of my sermons". The Dean naturally felt that this ignoring of the Chapter and refusal to receive "any communication" from them precluded him from sending the Bishop a formal copy of his Presentation, and so he carried out at once his intention of

The Dean's
Presentation
of the
sermons.

presenting the Bishop to the Metropolitan for publishing and preaching his two sermons on the Holy Eucharist. The controversy had widened, and it was currently believed that the Bishop charged the Dean with holding a "corporal or carnal" Presence in the Eucharist. The Bishop's absence of acquaintance with the rudiments of theology caused him to use language of unconscious inaccuracy on the subject under discussion. He was not a reticent person, and the Dean's reputation as a loyal churchman suffered seriously on account of the Bishop's words and deeds.

The formal Presentation was as follows:—

"MY LORD,

"I present unto your Lordship the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Natal for preaching two sermons in his Cathedral Church, one on the second Sunday and the other on the third Sunday in this present Lent.

"I. Because his Lordship, without warrant, as it seems to me, either of Holy Scripture, or of the Catholic Church, teaches *ex cathedra*, and as matter of Faith to the congregation, that in all moments of devotion and prayer, and by any act of living faith, whether wrought in the secret chamber, or among the busy scenes of life, they do eat the Flesh of our Lord Christ, and drink His Blood, as really and truly, and *in the very same kind of way* as in the Holy Eucharist; whereby much hurt may be done to the Church by many supposing that they partake, when they do not, of that Bread by which they shall live for ever.

"II. Because the congregation is led by these sermons to suppose that his Lordship is also resisting the notion of a Corporal Presence of our Lord in the Eucharist, whereby the minds of many are disturbed; his Lordship well knowing at the time that no such opinion is entertained by those against whom he is preaching. I forward herewith a printed copy of the sermons, and in support of the first charge beg to draw your Lordship's attention to:—

"(a).—Page 6, line 4 to end of paragraph. 'For here our Blessed Lord condescends to teach us what that Holy Feast is meant to signify, how—while it is itself a Feast, a means of grace and spiritual strength to all who worthily receive it—it is a sign and pledge to us of *that* eating and drinking of Christ's Body and Blood, by which alone our souls can live, and which is carried on within us by every act of true faith which we exercise upon the Life and Death of our Risen Lord,

as really and truly and in *the very same kind of way*, as when we meet together at His command and eat the Bread and drink the Wine "in remembrance of Him". Beware then, brethren, of attaching a superstitious meaning to the Holy Sacrament, and fancying that our Lord is present to us more *really*, when we eat and drink at His Holy Table, than He is when we are privileged to have communion with Him at any other time, and in any other manner—as if, by partaking of the consecrated Bread and Wine, we are made, in some mysterious way, more truly partakers of Christ's Body and Blood, than we are by virtue of any other act of living faith, whether wrought in our secret chamber, or among the busy duties of daily life, or amidst the prayers and praises of the Great Congregation. *It is the result of Man's theorising, and not derived from God's Revelation, to attempt to make a distinction in kind between our Lord's Presence in the Holy Eucharist, and that which He vouchsafes to us, when we kneel in our own retirement, or meet in our ordinary assemblies for the Common Worship of Prayer and Praise.'*

"(b) Page 7, lines 14 to 21 inclusive. 'I am the Living Bread which came down from Heaven. Yes! brethren! Our Blessed Lord is always present with us, as really and truly present *in the same kind of way*, when we bow our hearts before Him in public or in private—when we speak the word of truth and love, or act the deed of faith, in the commonest walk of life, in the midst of our everyday duties and charities—as when on some high festival we gather together around His Board, and keep the Feast at His command.'

"(c) Page 9, lines 17 to 23 inclusive. 'Let this be the use we make of the Holy Eucharist, not to regard it, in the words of one of old, as *a tremendous mystery*, only to be approached by us with unutterable fear and trembling, as something *wholly different* from the rest of our daily spiritual life, in the hope of then realising, *in some ineffable extraordinary way*, the presence of our Lord, as we do not at other times.'

"(d) Page 11, line 12 to end of following paragraph. 'The Holy Supper is one of the Sacraments, which as the Church teaches us, is *generally* necessary for salvation. But, when deprived by the Providence of God of this privilege, or when hindered by any *just impediment*, such as we can plead before Him who seeth in secret, and who can be deceived by no juggle of the conscience—we can, under such circumstances, eat the Sacred Body and drink the Precious Blood of Christ our Lord, by *devout meditation and prayer, by acts of repentance,*

faith and thanksgiving, at home, in our retirement, without the use of Bread and Wine, with no Table on which to spread the Elements, with no minister at hand to bless them. And we can derive our needful supply of spiritual life thereby, and dwell in Christ our Lord, and He in us. We can do this just as really and truly, as we can worship at all in private, whenever we are hindered by any just impediment from joining in the prayers and praises of the Church—just as really and truly, as we can then go into our closet, and shut the door, and bend the knee to our Father in Heaven, and be sure of having fresh gifts of spiritual life supplied to us; and this, we know, can only come (as our Lord tells us in the text) *by eating His Flesh and drinking His Blood*, which we therefore do *effectually* in all such moments of devotion and prayer.’

“(e) *Page 13, last six lines.* ‘Because it has been granted to him (whether Christian or heathen) to eat the Flesh and drink the Blood of the Son of Man, although, perhaps, not yet revealed to him—because he has had that spark of inward life supplied to him, by virtue of his relation, as a member of the Great Human Family, to its one Living Head, to the Lord and Elder Brother of us all.’

“(f) *Page 14, line 10 to line 16.* ‘(St. John vi. 51) I warned you against interpreting them and the rest of this passage, as some have done, exclusively of the Holy Eucharist, and connecting, in consequence, a superstitious fancy with that reverence which is justly due to that Holy Sacrament, as if in fact it had been said, *not, Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man*, but, *Except ye receive the Holy Eucharist*, ye have no life in you.’

“(g) *Page 15, line 2 to line 10;—line 26—28.* ‘Be sure then, I said, that in this way, whether you are able to approach the Sacrament, or not, you can still have life—the Life of God within you. Be sure that thus, though by God’s Providence you may be removed far from the Means of Grace, and the appointed minister, you can still eat the Flesh and drink the Blood of Christ our Lord as really and truly, and *in the very same kind of way*, as when you set forth His Death at the Holy Table. Be sure that in *thus* eating His Flesh and drinking His Blood, you shall dwell in Christ and Christ in you.’

“(h) *Page 15, lines 26—28.* ‘Brethren! I charge you to hold fast these precious truths, as the Truths—the wholesome food—which our Church has gathered for you to feed on, from the teaching of *our Lord and of His Apostles.*’

“And generally remark that his Lordship does not adduce

Holy Scripture in support of his interpretation of our Lord's discourse recorded in St. John vi., but infers it from the state of the world before the coming of our Saviour, from the present condition of the heathen, and from the voluntary wanderings of Christians; whereas our Lord does not speak of such food as having hitherto been given to men, nor as *then* given, but as Bread which He *will* give (ver. 51), and which He *did* give, when He instituted the Holy Eucharist, and said, *Take, eat, this is My Body.*

"In support of my second charge, I remark upon page 6, line 24, to end of paragraph, that his Lordship must be understood to mean by difference of *kind*, what is expressed by myself in my letter already before your Lordship; for the Bishop adopted it by putting to me *three* questions, founded on that definition, and again adopted it by saying his replies to the third would be the exact opposite, and informing me that he would preach against this view of *difference in kind*, and these sermons are the fulfilment of that notice. His Lordship therefore cannot honestly use that phrase in one sense in the sermons, different from that affixed to it by me, at least without stating that he does so. His Lordship, however, gives no definition of the phrase to the congregation (though I think bound to do so), but distinctly leads to the inference that he was opposing the doctrine of the Corporal Presence (see title-page and pages 18, 19, 20) where the quotations and the introduction to them are against the Corporal Presence, and form one-third of the sermon; the phrase *difference in kind* is worked up in them, and would be understood as distinguishing the *corporal* from the *spiritual* Presence. I acknowledge that the sermons contain passages setting forth that attendance at the Holy Eucharist is important, but I submit that his Lordship's teaching tends to the opposite result, and such teaching is only the more dangerous, the more it is intertwined with words of piety.

"JAMES GREEN,
"Dean of P. M. Burg.

"I hereby conjointly present the Lord Bishop of Natal to your Lordship on the same charges.

"JOHN DAVID JENKINS, M.A.,
"Canon of the Cathedral Church of St. Peter, and
"Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford."

We have seen that the two published sermons and the letters of Bishop Colenso teach a peculiarly offensive form of

Bishop
Colenso's
theological
confusion and
inexactitude.

His mistake
with regard to
Waterland.

Waterland
really
opposed him.

Waterland
opposes
Zwinglian-
ism.

The Metro-
politan over-
worked and
unfit to deal
with the grave
issues of the
Presentment.

His desire for
peace in
Natal.

Zwinglianism, and we have also seen that Archbishop Temple condemned Zwinglianism, as obviously incompatible with the Anglican formularies, just as Waterland had done in the early part of the eighteenth century. An examination of Bishop Colenso's sermons shows that his mind was so hopelessly un-theological that he could not comprehend the real issues of the subject with which he was dealing. In his second sermon he quotes Waterland's well-known treatise on the Eucharist, as supporting his Zwinglian views. It is true that Waterland, like Hooper, inclined to the Receptionist teaching of Calvin, which involves the perverse view that the faith of the communicant creates the Presence of our Lord by the act of reception. Neither Calvin nor his followers asserted that the Eucharistic Presence, even on their own defective theory, was the same, in *kind*, as the Presence of our Lord in the ordinary assemblies of the Church. Waterland in fact vehemently opposes the doctrine of those who assert "that there are no *special* benefits annexed to the Eucharist as such, nothing more conferred than what is constantly conferred to good men, at all other times, in all other good offices, or common duties" (Waterland, *Works*, vol. vii. p. 212).

On page 194 of the same volume, Waterland denies and opposes the Zwinglian heresy *eo nomine*, and emphasises the false teaching of those "who will not admit any medium between local Corporal Presence, and no Presence at all as to beneficial effects". Bishop Colenso was singularly unfortunate in claiming Waterland in support of his heresy.

The Dean's appeal, and enclosure of Bishop Colenso's correspondence with himself on the Eucharist, and his formal presentment of the two published sermons on the same subject, reached Bishop Gray at a most unfortunate and inopportune moment. The Metropolitan was in England, and overwhelmed with work. Just at the time when he had to deal with this most important matter, he writes: "Each thing I am called upon to do is but a little thing, but I feel it all a burden. My life is a continual *go*. There is no cessation from talk, no quiet or repose. I cannot even get an hour to sit alone in my room and write. My head is worn and aching, and my spirit exhausted. I am very, very weary, and sigh for solitude and quiet" (*Life of Bishop Gray*, vol i. p. 435).

It was not to be expected that a man so weary and overstrained as the Metropolitan was just then would be able to face, and deal with, a matter of such importance as the Dean had officially brought before him. He was necessarily

unequal to the effort. It was natural for him to shrink from facing the plain issues of Bishop Colenso's heresy on the Eucharist. He knew that the very same heresy was tolerated within the Church of England. He was full of his project for founding the See of St. Helena, which was accomplished in 1859, and for the establishment of three new missionary bishoprics in South Africa. He was trying to find out the true limits of his jurisdiction as Metropolitan, and above all anxious to see whether he and his suffragans could consecrate, by their own authority, missionary bishops for his Province. All these questions, now happily settled as he wished them to be settled, were pressing most heavily upon him. No wonder he tried to condone Bishop Colenso's heresy. He most earnestly desired not to offend him, as his consent was necessary for his cherished plan of missionary bishops. In May he wrote to Dean Green as follows:—

"Nothing can, I think, be more unfortunate than the Bishop taking up this question at all. There is nothing in your view of the Eucharist which justified his doing so, and it certainly leads to the impression that his own views are vague. I have shown the *whole case* to the Bishop of Oxford. His first remark on reading the whole was, *I think the Dean teaches heresy*, not of course on the Eucharist, but on the very point on which the Bishop *on paper* differs with you. Since writing the above your second presentment and the sermons have come to hand. The sermons do show, I think, in some passages a very vague and unsatisfactory view, but if you put all together—interpret one passage by another—take the sermons as a whole, you cannot condemn them as heretical. This would, I think, be the Bishop of Oxford's view, and it was Archdeacon Randall's view, who is one of the best men for judging such a case that I know of. This is all very distressing, and I do feel for you in your present position very much. I do hope you will try what you can in the way of reconciliation—I should have had great hope of your doing him (Bp. C.) good, and correcting vagueness of view, if you could meet frequently and talk over points of difference. . . . With deep sorrow for the present distress of the Church in Natal.

"Believe me ever, dear Green, affectionately yours,

"R. CAPETOWN."

His private letter to the Dean.

His unfortunate reference to the Bishop of Oxford.

This is the letter of an overwrought and weary man, desirous of peace and the abatement of controversy, and unable to recognise the seriousness of the issues involved. For the

The Bishop of Oxford an unreliable theologian.

His curious perversion of the Tridentine doctrine of the Eucharist.

His ignorance of the term "substance".

St. Thomas and Cardinal Newman.

Metropolitan to meet the Dean's serious allegations by a mere reference to the views of the Bishop of Oxford and Archdeacon Randall was, to say the least, an exhibition of weakness. The mind of the Bishop of Oxford was hopelessly untheological. His brother, Archdeacon Wilberforce, had written a masterly work on the Holy Eucharist, which is accepted to-day as a sound criterion of Catholic teaching. But the Archdeacon had subsequently made his personal submission to the Holy See, and quitted the Church of England. The Bishop of Oxford was driven violently in the direction of Protestantism by his brother's action, and consequently, when Dean Green expressed views identical with those of Archdeacon Wilberforce, the Bishop of Oxford would glibly term them "heresy". Bishop Samuel Wilberforce was so ignorant of the very rudiments of Eucharistic theology that he actually said (in one of his Ordination Addresses) of the Tridentine doctrine of the Eucharist: "Against the Church of Rome we are bound to protest when, pretending to define what Christ has left unrevealed, she subverts the very notion of a sacrament, by explaining as a carnal change and a substantial presence the inscrutable mystery of the true taking and receiving of the Body of Christ by the faithful in the Holy Eucharist" (*Addresses to Candidates for Ordination*, p. 69).

The Bishop evidently did not know that "substance" is *spiritual* and not *material*, nor did he realise that the "substance" of the Tridentine theology is as spiritual and mysterious as the "substance" covered by the term *ὁμοούσιος* in the Nicene Creed. There is nothing material conveyed or implied in the statement that our Lord is of "one substance with the Father," neither is there anything carnal or material in the idea that the "substance" of our Lord takes the place of the "substance" of the Bread and Wine after the consecration has taken place in the Mass. The Bishop had, in some strange way, confused the spiritual change covered by the term "Transubstantiation" with the material change implied in the heresy of "Transaccidentation," a heresy involving the annihilation of the "accidents" of the Bread and Wine, which Catholic doctrine teaches us must necessarily remain, when the spiritual change of "substance" has taken place. The Bishop of Oxford's mind was hopelessly confused on the whole subject. He had apparently never grasped the fact that Transubstantiation does not imply or demand "a local Presence". St. Thomas Aquinas said, "Nullo modo Corpus Christi est in hoc Sacramento localiter". Cardinal Newman said, "Our Lord neither

descends from Heaven upon our Altars, nor *moves* when carried in procession. He is in the Holy Eucharist *after the manner of a spirit*" (*Via Media*, vol. ii. ed. 1877, p. 270).

But enough of the Bishop of Oxford's lack of Eucharistic theology. We may trace its result in the formal reply of Bishop Gray to the Dean's Presentment. We may not blame the worn and weary Metropolitan overmuch for the halting pronouncement which follows ;—

"LONDON, 4th June, 1858.

"MY DEAR DEAN,

"I have received the two appeals which you and Mr. Jenkins have forwarded to me respecting the Bishop of Natal's conduct and preaching, together with a copy of the sermons published by his Lordship. I regret that I have so little time before the mail leaves to consider this important subject fully, but I think it better, amidst your present unhappy divisions, to write without delay, though at the risk of taking a hurried and imperfect view of the case. First, then, let me say that I can only reply to you through the Bishop, both because I am doubtful as to the extent of my jurisdiction in this matter, and because you do not appear to have furnished him with any copy of the very grave official documents which you have forwarded to me. Mere natural justice, apart from the forms of law, requires that the accused should know what is the precise nature of the charges brought against him.

"This is so obvious that I can only attribute your omission to furnish the Bishop with copies of your letters to me, to mere inadvertence.

"While in doubt as to the extent of Metropolitan jurisdiction in such a matter as you have submitted to me (a point not so easy to be determined as you may perhaps imagine), I cannot venture to give a judicial opinion upon the case laid before me. All that I can do is to give both you and the Bishop my views upon this unfortunate dispute which has arisen; and to strive, if possible, to restore the interrupted harmony. The points in question seem to be :—

"(1) The soundness of your views on the Holy Eucharist.

"(2) The soundness of the Bishop's views on the same subject.

"(3) The correctness of your views, and of those of the Bishop, as to the effect of other ordinances.

"(4) The course pursued by the Bishop in removing you from the post of Examining Chaplain; and in preaching the sermons in question.

The Metro-
politan's
official reply.

"(5) The course pursued by you and Mr Jenkins in abstaining from Communion, and in presenting your Bishop.

"First, then, as to your own views concerning the Holy Eucharist. I can see nothing in your expressions to find fault with respecting it. Your view is stated in the following words: 'Though locally there where He ascended, yet, for the communication of those gifts He would thereby bestow, present through the Spirit, so truly present that the Bread which we break is the Communion of the Body of Christ, the Cup which we bless is the Communion of the Blood of Christ'. I think that a very accurate statement, and strictly in accordance with the teaching of the Church of England. While maintaining that Our Lord is really present in His Sacred Feast, it excludes the notion of a Corporal Presence. I lament therefore greatly that the Bishop should have called you to account for your teaching on this subject; and the more so as he does not so much find fault with your language respecting it, as with your apparent depreciation of other ordinances.

"Next, as to the Bishop's own views about the Eucharist. These are to be gathered from his two sermons, and from his letters to you. Now putting these together, and comparing and illustrating one passage by another, I cannot see that there is sufficient ground for charging the Bishop with unsound teaching respecting the Eucharist. In his letters indeed he says that he agrees with what you say on the subject, and he is strong in the maintenance of a real Spiritual Presence of Our Lord. I do not think it necessary to quote passages from the sermons to this effect, because I think that however you may regard his views as qualified or weakened by other opinions, thus much must be clear. The difference between you is indeed mainly, at least on paper, respecting the effects of other ordinances and modes of Communion with Him Who is our life; and it is only as these bear indirectly upon the Eucharist that they seem by implication to exalt or lower the Sacrament, and the Special Gift therein conveyed. I will therefore give you my opinion as to what both you and the Bishop have advanced respecting other ordinances. I venture to think then, that neither of you has been as guarded in your expressions as might have been desired. First, as to your own views. You have, I think, defined too closely and refined too much as to the different modes of our Lord's Presence. We are not entitled, I think, to say that the communication of our Lord's Manhood to us can only take place through the Sacra-

ments; or to define in what way He is present in the ordinary assemblies. The language which you have used goes beyond that of the Church. She has nowhere expressed herself as you have done. I do not know that the matter has ever been fully treated of by the Catholic Church, or our own particular branch of it. But the principle involved has been weighed by the Council of Trent; and its language upon the point which bears upon this question is in favour of the Bishop's view. The Catechism of the Council of Trent, speaking of the various modes of communicating, says under the word 'Spiritualiter,' 'Alii vero spiritu tantummodo Eucharistiam sumere dicuntur, ii sunt, qui desiderio et voto propositum illum panem comedunt, fide viva incensi, quae per dilectionem operatur, ex quo si non omnes, maximos certe utilitatis fructus consequuntur' (*Cat. Conc. Trident.* Pars secunda, lvii.)

"According to it, it is at least doubtful whether all the benefits conferred through the Sacrament may not be conveyed through an act of living faith. The opinion is therefore allowable that it can be so, even in the view of the Church of Rome. I will add that the Rubric of our own Church, quoted by the Bishop, commits our Church to the same view. I apprehend that if qualified and guarded as by both the Council, and our own Church, you would have no difficulty in subscribing to the view put forth by the Bishop so eloquently in the 10th and 11th pages of his first sermon. But I confess that in other passages he has so expressed himself, that others might attribute to him, as you have done, opinions which, looking at his sermons as a whole, I think he does not maintain. Men might infer, I think, from his language that he held that if a person had the opportunity of partaking of the Holy Eucharist, and declined to do so, he could equally well, whilst slighting the appointed means, partake of our Lord's Body and Blood, whilst sitting in his own room, by some effort of his own, acting an act of faith.

"Now this I do not believe the Bishop holds, for I take the long passages in pp. 10 and 11 to be the key to his view, and that he does not wish to go beyond the exceptional cases to which the Rubric alludes. I should think the broad affirmation, that a man could, by some mental effort, whether by prayer, or contemplation, or a process of faith, make himself as often as he liked partaker of our Lord's Body and Blood, as really and effectually, and completely, as through the Sacrament of His Body and Blood, as disparaging our Lord's appointed Ordinance for conveying the great gift of Union and

Communion with Him ; and almost sure to lead men to say, as too many do say, that they could do very well without the Sacrament, that it was not at all needful to them, and that they did not mean to partake of it. While thinking, then, that (as in your own case) there has been a want of caution, and a too rhetorical statement of the benefits of other means, I cannot, looking at the passages to which I have alluded as the real expression of his views, think that you were justified in presenting him as teaching false doctrine.

“ It is Mr. Jenkins who complains of your removal from the office of Examining Chaplain. With this, as Metropolitan, I have no concern. As to the preaching of the sermons, I greatly regret the course which the Bishop pursued. I do not think that you had done anything to justify a public attack on your teaching ; but I conceive that if a Presbyterian does teach erroneously, it is a Bishop’s duty to bring him to a trial. It is in this way, it seems to me, that we are to banish and drive away false doctrine. The Canon which prohibits public opposition between preachers appears to me to apply to bishops as well as priests. I must confess that I do think that the Bishop’s sermons, especially the second, do leave upon the reader’s mind the impression that he was maintaining a Spiritual Presence, and that you had taught a Corporal Presence ; and that you have ground for your complaint on that score, as you had actually expressed a different view.

“ I must confess that I think that you and Mr. Jenkins did very wrong in abstaining from Communion, though I have no doubt that it was, as you say, through perplexity, and from no improper spirit, that you held back. The act, however, was that of refusing Communion, at least for the time, with your Bishop. It exhibited to the world division and alienation within the Church. It could not but give great offence to the Bishop, and widen the breach between you ; and have a very injurious effect both on those of our Communion, and those without it, who would rejoice over it, and whose hands it would strengthen. I do hope that to whatever extent the differences between you may have gone, you will, as a Christian man, express to the Bishop your sorrow for having offered him this slight in his own Cathedral. It is due to him that you should do so, and that you should explain that it was the fear of being committed to what you felt to be error, that led you to act as you did. If he will then, with his own hearty frankness and openness, express regret for the too hasty course which he has pursued, both in his letters and in his preaching

against your views, or supposed views, this sad breach may by God's goodness be healed and closed.

"Our own laws respecting the presentment and trial of a Bishop are in a very unsatisfactory state. I have felt this so strongly for some time, that I had actually prepared a statement on the subject for my late Synod. We were, however, so much occupied with other matters that we had no time to discuss it, or to refer it, as we probably should have done, to a Provincial Synod. Meantime I think that, in our present state, Presbyters may, as a question of principle, for grave matters, present a Bishop. I cannot tell you how deeply I have felt this very sad case. In what I have written, I have endeavoured to set before you all what I believe to be true, and likely to make for peace. That God may give us all grace to know and receive the truth, and gentleness and love in witnessing for it to others, and patience in bearing with each others' infirmities, is

"My dear Dean,

"The prayer of your sincere friend and brother,

"R. CAPETOWN.

"THE VERY REVEREND THE DEAN OF MARITZBURG."

Before commenting upon this document, it will be best to state its object in the Metropolitan's own words: "My object throughout," he says, "was to support the Bishop where, and so far as, I fairly could; to allay the heats that had arisen; to restore harmony and maintain order, and secure the obedience that was due. In my efforts to accomplish this, I know that I made the hearts of faithful men sad; for those who thought they were contending for great principles which were endangered, felt discouraged, and even aggrieved" (*Life of Bishop Gray*, vol. i. p. 433). The object of this document.

The Metropolitan was so ill from exhaustion a day or two before he wrote this document, that he had to go out of church in the middle of his sermon. We trace in it the hands of others, and the defective theology of Bishop Wilberforce. The point made against the Dean for not having furnished Bishop Colenso with a copy of his Presentment is made the most of. The Bishop had published his sermons and written his letters on the Eucharist to the Dean. The Dean had told him quite frankly that he was going to present him for teaching the doctrine contained in the sermons and letters aforesaid. The doctrine was plain enough, and though it was a formal error not to furnish the Bishop with a copy of the Exaggerated point against the Dean.

Presentment, it had no real bearing upon the questions in debate. And on 10th March the Bishop had written to the Dean declining to receive from the Dean and Chapter "any communication on the subject of his sermons".

Misleading quotations from Tridentine Catechism.

The Metropolitan did not see that the sermon involved the Lutheran "Ubiquity" as well as Zwinglian-ism.

The quotation from the "Catechism of the Council of Trent" has obviously no bearing upon the real point at issue; namely Bishop Colenso's statement that the *same kind* of Presence is manifested in ordinary assemblies for worship as in the Holy Eucharist; a statement which, as we have seen, Waterland denies. The Metropolitan misses the true point at issue, which is the difference between our Lord's Presence "in the midst" of the two or three gathered in His Name, and His Eucharistic Presence (not in the *midst* of) but "in us," so that we "who have duly received these Holy Mysteries are very members incorporate" of our Lord's glorified Humanity.

The idea that we partake of our Lord's Manhood in the ordinary assemblies of the Church in the *same kind of way* as in the Holy Eucharist, as Bishop Colenso asserted, is not only Zwinglian, but is also involved in Luther's grave heresy of the Ubiquity of our Lord's Manhood. But it is painful to criticise this unhappy pronouncement in detail. The Metropolitan afterwards proved himself so valiant a champion of the Faith, that we may well pass by this exhibition of his weakness without further comment. The Dean accepted the situation and made the best of it.

He wrote to the Bishop as follows:—

"PIETERMARITZBURG, 5th August, 1858.

"MY DEAR LORD,

The Dean's letter to Bishop Colenso on the Metropolitan's "reply".

"Though occupied with preparing for the mail, and with other matters, I have been endeavouring to think over the best course to be adopted, now that I have received the kind and excellent letter from the Bishop of Capetown. I cannot yet make up my mind to my own satisfaction, but write rather than allow you to proceed on visitation without taking any notice of it to your Lordship. The Bishop agrees with me in thinking that your Lordship's two sermons, now so extensively circulated, do lead people to suppose that I held the doctrine of the Corporal Presence. His Lordship also allows that expressions in your sermons may lead others to the conclusion drawn by Mr. Jenkins and myself; but upon looking at them as a whole, the Bishop concludes that your Lordship did not intend to extend your teaching beyond that of the Rubric at the end of the Office for the Communion of the Sick. If your Lordship accepts this conclusion of the

Bishop, I trust you will concur with me in thinking it due to the laity of the Diocese to relieve their doubts both as to your Lordship's opinions and my own. My difficulty is to devise a method of so doing without touching upon fresh matter, or bringing anything into controversy. The quietest plan I can devise is to request your Lordship to insert a notice in the next number of your *Journal*, briefly stating that the Metropolitan regards my views of the Eucharist as accurate, and in conformity with the teaching of the Church of England, and that the Rubric in the Communion Service is to limit the interpretation of your Lordship's sermon in such parts as treat of what is termed 'spiritual communion'.

"Again, assuming your Lordship to accept this limit, I am very sorry that my abstaining from Communion on the second Sunday in Lent tended to fix upon the minds of any, that your Lordship intended to set forth other doctrine. I would rather have said no more, but the remarks in the pamphlet you sent me on Tuesday make me think it necessary to say, that to every clergyman must belong the right of every Christian to determine for himself, on any particular occasion, whether he can communicate or not.

"Of course I recognise the right of the Church to rule that a clergyman doing so frequently exhibits a state of mind unfitting him for his office, but not to command a Christian to communicate against his own judgment. The act of abstaining no Christian can apologise for, if he thought it right towards his own self at the time to abstain: its consequences to others he may sincerely regret—and, be assured, if your Lordship accepts the Bishop of Capetown's interpretation of your sermons, I do regret that my act should have involved a slight to you in your own Cathedral, and have confirmed others in doubting the correctness of your teaching. My motive for not communicating on that Sunday I explained in a note to your Lordship, written towards the end of the week. I trust our remaining the next Sunday, and afterwards, has proved to your Lordship that, as the Bishop of Capetown states, perplexity, and no improper spirit, held us back.

"Yours faithfully,

"JAMES GREEN."

This letter is a masterpiece of courteous controversy. The Dean's conditioned acceptance of the Metropolitan's benevolent and inaccurate interpretation of his teaching. He also carefully guards a cation.

Christian man's liberty with regard to the act of communicating at any particular time or occasion. The Metropolitan's document alludes to "the hearty frankness and openness" with which he trusts Bishop Colenso "will express his regret for the too hasty course which he has pursued".

Bishop Colenso's character was utterly misjudged by Bishop Gray, as the following letter manifests:—

" BISHOPSTOWE, 6th August, 1858.

" MY DEAR DEAN,

" I regret exceedingly to have received from you such a letter as that which you have now sent me, as the result of the impression made upon your own mind by reading what you justly call the 'kind and excellent' letter of the Bishop of Capetown. It is impossible that I can accept such a communication, as at all answering to his earnest hope, without limitation or qualification, that to whatever extent the difference between us might have gone, you would, as a Christian man, 'express to me your sorrow for having offered me such a slight in my own Cathedral'.

"I must now say that I take a very different view from yourself of the nature of the Bishop's reply, which, as regards the real points at issue between us, is to me quite satisfactory. I perceive that, in the course of this letter, the Bishop has made some remarks upon my *course of conduct*, in writing the letters, and preaching the Sermons in question. It is, however, impossible that I should give due weight to his opinion on this point, until I know that he has been fully informed of all the circumstances of the case, which appeared to me then, as they appear to me still (and perhaps would appear to him also, if properly stated), entirely to justify the steps which I have taken. As you are aware, you have not communicated to me, as it was your plain and obvious duty to have done, the contents of the letters in which the charges against me were conveyed to the Bishop. From myself he has not as yet received any statement of those circumstances. And I see that he has justly commented upon the extraordinary inadvertence which has left me up to this hour in perfect ignorance of the nature of the accusations brought against me, or even of the parties by whom they were made, except what I am able to infer from his own letter.

"From that it would seem that you have 'complained' that my sermons represent you as maintaining the 'Corporeal' Presence of Our Lord in the Holy Eucharist, and myself as

The Metropolitan mis-read Bishop Colenso's character.

Bishop Colenso's reply to the Dean.

maintaining the 'Spiritual'. You must be well aware, however, that there is no real ground for making any such 'complaint,' and that I have expressly stated that the views which I condemned were those set forth by Archdeacon Wilberforce in his Book on the Incarnation; and that no mistake might 'exist as to their nature,' I have quoted words of Archdeacon Wilberforce, which plainly show what those views are, and show also that they have nothing to do with the question of a Corporeal or Spiritual Presence;—that they may be held with either view of that Presence; but held with either, they are, in my judgment, unsound and unscriptural. I am sorry, however, that in the Bishop's opinion, any expression of mine seems calculated 'to leave in the reader's mind the impression' that you held the Corporeal Presence and I the Spiritual. I never meant by any words of mine to convey such a notion. I never supposed for one moment that you held the Corporeal Presence. And I will add, further, that I do not believe that anyone, in this Diocese at all events, where all the circumstances of the case are known, has ever received such an impression from my sermons.

"But the above matters are all beside the main point at issue between us. You know well that I have never found fault with any of your expressions about the Eucharist itself. The difference of opinion between us was not on this point at all, but solely, as the Bishop of Capetown says, because of 'your apparent depreciation of the other ordinances'. Further I have never, as Bishop, called you to account, as a Presbyter, for any of your opinions or teaching. But in our private relations, I have asked you as my Examining Chaplain, to explain 'between ourselves' what answer you would give to a particular question, which, in my name and as my representative, you set to a candidate on an important point of theology. From your reply I perceived that you held a view which I believe to be unsound and unscriptural, and which the Bishop of Capetown has censured as going beyond the teaching of the Church. Holding such a view, I felt that you could not properly represent me as Examining Chaplain, and in a friendly private letter told you so. This certainly cannot be styled a 'calling you to account' for your opinions. Nor again have I publicly attacked your teaching, for indeed I know not what your teaching is, or whether you do, or do not, teach the above view which I condemn. As you are very well aware, I have very few opportunities of hearing you preach; and though, in delivering my own soul, and

teaching to my flock what I believe to be the living truth of God's Word, I may have contradicted your teaching, I am not aware of the fact. I have discharged my own duty, according to the light vouchsafed to me, and left you to discharge yours. My second sermon, as you must know, was not an attack on you, but a defence of my own views, after you had stigmatised them as heretical. For this is the real question at issue between us, and with respect to which, having my sermons in his hands, the Bishop *was* in a position to form a distinct and just opinion. *You* have presented *me* to the Metropolitan as a 'teacher of unsound doctrine,' and you have elsewhere, in an official document, pronounced my doctrine to be, in your judgment, *heresy*. Upon this point, no doubt, the clergy and laity of the Diocese will desire to learn, and ought to learn, the Bishop of Capetown's opinion.

"That opinion, as you are aware, is given as follows:—

"1. The Bishop can see 'no sufficient ground for charging me with unsound doctrine respecting the Eucharist'.

"2. He 'does not think that you were justified in presenting me as teaching false doctrine' about other ordinances. He states that the principle involved in my doctrine 'has been weighed by the Council of Trent,' and its language upon the point, which bears upon the question, is in favour of my view; that 'according to it, it is at least doubtful whether all the benefits conferred by the Sacraments may not be conveyed through an act of living faith'; that the opinion is 'therefore allowable that it can be so, even in the view of the Church of Rome'; and that 'the Rubric of our own Church, which I have quoted, commits our Church to the same view'.

"On both these points, which are the real points at issue, the Bishop's opinion is decidedly against you. But he has also given his opinion as decidedly against you on a third point of importance, the identical point on which our difference at first arose, and on account of which I felt that you could no longer act as Examining Chaplain; having your own report of your own words upon which to found his opinion. He says that he thinks you 'have defined too closely and refined too much, as to the different modes of our Lord's Presence; that we are not entitled to say (as you have said) that the communication of our Lord's Manhood to us can only take place through the Sacraments,' or to define (as you have tried to do) 'in what way He is present in the ordinary assemblies'; that you have 'used language which goes beyond that of the Church, which has nowhere expressed herself as you have

done'. In short, on each of these three points, where doctrine is concerned, the Bishop has given his opinion in my favour (allowing for defects of human infirmity which cannot perfect every expression) and against yourself.

"On the other points, which respect my course of conduct, the Bishop could not form a just opinion, until fully informed of all the circumstances. I cannot conclude without expressing again my unfeigned sorrow that the tone and temper of your letter is so utterly at variance with that which the Bishop of Capetown has recommended.

"And I remain, my dear Dean,

"Yours faithfully in Christ,

"J. W. NATAL."

The Bishop eagerly fastens upon the Dean's technical error in not sending him a copy of the "Presentment," quite oblivious of his letter to the Dean of 10th March, 1858, and also of the fact that, when the Dean had previously sought the counsel of the Metropolitan upon the Bishop's action in 1857, he (the Bishop) had written to the Dean on 8th July, 1857, "I return the copy of your letter to the Bishop of Capetown *unread*". Archdeacon Mackenzie, in a letter to the Dean on the subject, mentions the Bishop's "refusal to hold communication" with the Dean. Surely, if the Bishop had been as "frank and open" as the Metropolitan thought him to be, he would not have forgotten the fact of his returning *unread* a previous letter of the Dean's to the Metropolitan, which had been sent for his perusal, nor would he have failed to remember his refusal to receive "any communication" from the Dean and Chapter on the subject of his sermons. Had the Metropolitan known these facts he would not have laid such stress upon the fact that the Dean did not furnish the Bishop with a copy of the Presentment. It was not quite straightforward on the Bishop's part to say in this letter that he did not know what the Dean's teaching on the Eucharist was, when just before he stigmatised it as "unsound and unscriptural". But the note of triumph underlying this letter, coupled with his private letters to Mr. Maurice and the Metropolitan, show that Bishop Colenso was fairly started upon the "down grade" path of theology, that ultimately carried him into a thinly veiled Unitarianism. It is interesting to note that the Eucharistic controversy in England in Archdeacon Denison's case, and in Scotland in the attack made on Bishop Forbes of Brechin, almost coincided with the controversy in Natal.

The Bishop's points.

The Metro-
politan's
hopeful letter
to the Dean,

On 5th July, 1858, the Metropolitan wrote to the Dean as follows: "I cannot but hope that you will find the Bishop modifying his views about Communion. S. Oxon has written to him, and Maurice tells me that he does not agree with his views as expressed in his sermons, and that he will write to him. I wrote privately to him as I did to you; and my private letter was as strong to him as you may have thought mine was to you. I own that I tremble for your Diocese, and pray continually for you all. Others besides myself are anxious; but I think that your working where you can, and not standing aloof, is very desirable."

unjustified by
results.

The Metropolitan laboured for peace, without considering the penalty that befalls those who attempt to build the walls of Zion "with untempered mortar". Bishop Colenso had recommended the Dean to be the first Bishop of the Orange Free State; and he also recommended Archdeacon Mackenzie as Bishop for Zululand. He now wrote to the Metropolitan formally withdrawing both recommendations.

CHAPTER IV.

1858-1861.

Controversy concerning Bishop Colenso's "Church Council"—The Dean, Archdeacon Mackenzie, and others withdraw from the preliminary "Conference," and protest against the constitution of the "Church Council"—The right of clergy to vote as a separate "Order"—Bishop Gray condemns the "Church Council" as an uncanonical "Legislative Body"—A committee of the Council issues a Report attacking the Dean.—His comments thereon—Bishop Colenso's Erastianism and its issues—Consecration of Archdeacon Mackenzie as first Bishop of the "Universities' Mission"—Synod of Bishops in Capetown—Support given by Bishop Cotterill to Bishop Colenso—Difficulties of Bishop Gray at this crisis.

PARALLEL with that most important controversy on the Holy Eucharist, which was reviewed in the previous chapter, was the controversy upon the constitution and powers of the Natal Church Council. The Metropolitan had desired a conference of clergy and elected lay delegates to meet for the purpose of considering the best method of constituting a Diocesan Synod. The year 1857 had seen the first Diocesan Synod at Capetown, which laid true and sound foundations, and cheered the heart of the Metropolitan. But Church matters in Natal had been permanently affected by the Bishop's surrender at Durban. The Bishop called the Conference, which met at Maritzburg on 20th April, 1858. The Durban delegates were instructed to protest against a Diocesan Synod, and to watch the proceedings of certain clergy, whom they considered to be "of evident Tractarian leaning". The conference was dominated by "militant Protestantism," and the Bishop was in accord with it. It decided against the formation of a Diocesan Synod, and the Bishop agreed to the utter anomaly of a so-called "Church Council," in which the Bishop was to be in himself "one estate," and the clergy and laity sitting and voting together in one house, another "estate". Such a flagrant departure from Church order naturally caused the Catholic clergy, who had the courage of their opinions, to withdraw from the Conference. The Dean, Archdeacon

Conference to consider formation of Diocesan Synod.

Substitution of anomalous Church Council.

Withdrawal
of the Dean
and others
from the
"Con-
ference".

Explanatory
letter.

Mackenzie, Canon Jenkins, and the Reverend R. Robertson, missionary to the Zulus, withdrew from the Conference. On 23rd April they sent the following letter to the Bishop:—

"MY LORD,

"We the undersigned clergy in your Lordship's Diocese beg respectfully, and with deep respect, to state to your Lordship that, while according to our office we are ready at all times to advise your Lordship on all such matters as you may desire, we cannot do so as members of the Conference now assembled, nor can we recognise its right to advise your Lordship on any matters of a spiritual character. Under the circumstances we pray your Lordship to excuse us from any further attendance at the said Conference.

"We have the honour to be,

"Your Lordship's most obedient servants,

"JAMES GREEN, M.A., *Dean*.

"F. MACKENZIE, M.A., *Archdeacon*.

"J. D. JENKINS, M.A., *Canon*.

"R. ROBERTSON, *Clerk*."

This withdrawal did not influence either the Bishop or his Protestant supporters, and the hybrid ecclesiastical malformation, henceforth to be known as the Natal "Church Council," was summoned to meet on 13th March. But before it met the Bishop received the following protests:—

I. From the Clergy:—

"MY LORD,

Protest from
the Dean and
clergy
against the
constitution
of the
Council.

"We, the undersigned clergy of your Lordship's Diocese, beg respectfully to state that we are unable to attend at, or to recognise any measures that may be passed at the Church Council summoned to meet on Tuesday, the 13th instant, because in constituting such Council your Lordship has adopted in their entirety the recommendations of the late Conference, to which we object; *videlicet*:—

I. "To the Rule that the Council shall consist of *Two Estates*, (i) The Lord Bishop of the Diocese. (ii) The clergy and laity. Because (a) in Holy Scripture we learn from Acts xv. 2, 4, 6, 22 and 23; Acts xvi. 4, xx. 17, xxi. 18, that the Order of 'Elders' is a separate estate within the Church. (b) The principle enunciated on which the mingling of clergy and laity is grounded, *viz.* that their votes are of equal influence, contradicts Holy Scripture (see Acts xx. 28; Heb. xiii. 17; and 1. St. Peter v. 1-6). (c) Any departure from the fundamental constitution of the Church is precluded by

that which we are taught in 1 Cor. xiii., Ephesians iv. 16. (d) Whilst we believe that the practice of the Catholic Church has at all times confirmed this interpretation of Holy Scripture, we do know that in the Provincial and Diocesan Synods of the Church of England, the Order of Priests is a separate estate, and by our ordination vows we are bound to minister the Discipline of Christ as the Church of England hath received the same. (e) Because, to the best of our knowledge, in all Colonial Diocesan Synods, the right of the Order of Priests to separate voting has been recognised.

II. "To the Rule that by the word 'clergy' is understood only all clergy *licensed and having actual cure of souls*; because (a) from time to time there may be Canons of the Cathedral Church and other Priests of the Diocese, entitled by their order to advise your Lordship, who may nevertheless not have cure of souls:—(b) because, whilst the laity are called to your Lordship's Council, the Deacons are excluded.

III. "To the principles on which the representatives of the laity are elected:—because it seems to us to be at variance with Holy Scripture (see Coloss. iii. 11) where we learn that the gifts of nations and of classes are gifts of Christ, and that altogether they make up the Perfect Man in Christ, whereas your Lordship will on the other hand except Christians of particular classes and particular nations (see also 1 Cor. i. 26-30). In conclusion, my Lord, we would respectfully but most earnestly beg of your Lordship to take counsel with the Lord Metropolitan, and your brother Bishops; for we cannot but feel that if, in this Diocese, we attempt to change the organisation of the Church—the Body of Christ—we are numbering ourselves with those who wounded and pierced His Natural Body.

"We have the honour to be,

"Your Lordship's most obedient servants,

"JAMES GREEN, M.A.,

"*Dean of Pietermaritzburg.*

"C. F. MACKENZIE, M.A.,

"*Archdeacon of Pietermaritzburg and*

"*Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.*

"JOHN D. JENKINS, M.A.,

"*Canon of Pietermaritzburg and*

"*Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford,*

"*Officiating Chaplain to H.M. Forces.*

"ROBERT ROBERTSON,

"*Missionary, and Incumbent of*

"*Clairmont and Isipingo (to I. and II.)*

The Dean on representation of all congregations.

Mr. Robertson declined to identify himself with point No. III. because of immediate practical difficulties in the way of carrying out the fundamental principles involved in it. The Dean, Archdeacon Mackenzie and Canon Jenkins determined to assert those principles, which were that no congregations in the Diocese should be excluded absolutely from electing "lay representatives," if they desired to do so. The Council's Rule made it impossible for the garrison congregation to be represented, if they had desired such representation. An Imperial officer, on service at the Cape, sat in the Provincial Synod of 1898, and was a valued member of the House of laymen. Whether, at that date, the officers and men of the garrison congregation desired representation, or not, the Council had no business to lay down a rule that they were debarred from electing a delegate. The members of the garrison, who belonged to the Church, could not forfeit their inherent rights as Churchmen and Communicants, simply because they happened to be serving in the Imperial Army. The other disqualification imposed by the Council, was that no native Christians could elect a representative. This was presumably the outcome of the Durban agitation against Bishop Colenso. His hastily compiled *Ten Weeks in Natal* had caused the people to think that he cared more for the natives than for the colonists. It was this feeling, unworthy as it was, that caused the Durban people to burn the Bishop in effigy in the Market Square. At all events he yielded to it, so far as to exclude native Christians from any representation on his "Church Council". In justice to the Bishop it must be remembered that, in after years, he espoused the cause of Langilabalele and Cetshwayo with more zeal than discretion.

Bishop Colenso excludes native Christians from representation.

Mr. Robertson, on the two points here mentioned, seems to have thought that the exclusive policy of the "Church Council" should pass without protest.

Rights of the Clergy to a vote "by orders" denied by him,

Upon the main question it must be remembered that the American Church, with its democratic instincts, never permitted the right of the priesthood to a separate vote in their General Convention to be challenged. As a matter of fact the Houses of clergy and laity in South African Synods, Provincial and Diocesan, often vote together as one House; but the right of the clergy to vote, as a *separate estate*, is most jealously guarded. A "vote by orders" can at any time be demanded, and taken. To debar the priesthood from the right of voting, as a *separate order*, is just as un-catholic as to deprive the Bishop in a Diocesan Synod, or the House of Bishops, in the

Provincial Synod, from voting as a separate order. Bishop Colenso preserved carefully his own right to a separate vote in his Church Council, whilst he deprived his priests of their similar right. And this is the more extraordinary, because he did not believe in an Apostolic Threefold Ministry at all. The senior priest of the Diocese of Natal sent an interesting letter to the author of this biography. Writing of Bishop Colenso's arrival in February, 1854, he says: "I remember well the first time the Bishop came to matins. Services were held in the Government schoolroom, a very plain barn of a building. We all met in the portico of the building, and there was much shaking of hands. Jenkins introduced the Bishop to some Christian natives, as the 'Umfundisi Umkulu' (The Chief Pastor). The Bishop looked at him very sternly, stamped his foot upon the pavement, and said, '*Never let me hear you say that again. I am no greater an Umfundisi than you.*' Poor Jenkins blushed crimson and subsided." But though the Bishop did not believe in the spiritual gifts of his office, he was careful to preserve his temporal powers in the "Church Council," and, in after days, was never weary of reiterating, from an Erastian standpoint, the powers he had received from the Crown as Head of the Church, through his "Letters Patent," as the "Queen's Bishop".

Bishop Colenso's strange view of the office of a Bishop.

The question of the representation of the laity in the Synods of the Catholic Church is one of considerable difficulty. The priesthood of the laity in the Body of Christ is an assured fact. The Church does not consist of the clergy alone. The assent of the *whole* Church is implied or expressed, when a Council of Œcumenical authority defines and explains the Faith already "once delivered to the Saints".

Difficulties connected with laity in Synods.

In Acts xv. 23, a verse referred to by the Dean and the protesting clergy, the decisions of the Council of Jerusalem run in the name of "the Apostles, Elders and Brethren" (οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί). This not only shows that the priests form a "separate estate," but also that the "lay brethren" gave an *assent* to the decision.

It is true that the reading καὶ οἱ before ἀδελφοί has been disputed. It is also true that the *decision* of the matter rested with the Apostles and Elders *alone*. But Dean Green and those who acted with him, did not object to the *assenting* voice of the laity in Synod. They agreed with St. Cyprian when he said: "A primordio Episcopatus mei statuerim nihil sine consilio vestro (his priests) et sine *consensu plebis*, mea privatim sententia gerere" (St. Cypr. *Ep.* xv.). The fourth

Their "assenting" voice.

Council of Toledo lays down rules for the assembling of a Synod. After the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons have entered ; "deinde ingrediantur et *Laici* qui electione concilio interesse meruerint" (Mansi, *Conc.* Tom. i. p. 10). The position of elected communicant laity in Synods, with an *assenting* voice, has been admitted in all the un-established Churches of the Anglican Communion. The ultimate doctrinal responsibility in a Diocesan Synod rests upon the sole vote and decision of the Bishop, as representing his Order. In a Provincial Synod it rests with the House of Bishops. But Bishop Colenso's "Church Council" merged the priests and laymen into one estate, who voted together as a corporate body. This un-Catholic procedure was, in the words of the memorial of the Dean and his colleagues, "an attempt to change the organisation of the Church—the Body of Christ,"—and, although the parallel was a strong one, the memorialists felt that this insult to His Spiritual Body was practically on a level with the sin of those who wounded His Natural Body. Ignorance could be pleaded for those who knew not what they did. Arrogance on the part of the Bishop, and ignorance on the part of the Protestant faction who urged him on, might be pleaded in the case of this breach of Church order. Resistance to a novel and un-catholic form of Church government became a solemn duty to the Dean and those who acted with him.

Bishop Gray was in England when the memorial from Dean Green and his colleagues reached him. He had just dealt with the Dean's presentment of the Bishop's heresies on the Holy Eucharist. He was overworked and perplexed with many difficulties. But he took a firmer line on the question of order and discipline than he had done on the question of doctrine.

He wrote to the Dean on 18th August, 1858, as follows :
 " Within the last few days I have received the minutes of your Conference and the report of your debates. As these are officially forwarded to me as Metropolitan, I have written freely to the Bishop on the subject, pointing out the inevitable discord and confusion which must arise in the whole South African Church in consequence of his succumbing to the laity, and allowing them to trample down the rights of the clergy. I have been much shocked at the indecency of these strange proceedings, and think that you and your co-Presbyters have really saved the Church by withdrawing and protesting against the right of that Conference, or of any body of its creation, to represent the Church in Natal. Being, happily, a majority of

Bishop Colenso forms clergy and laity into one "House".

Duty of the Dean to resist this novelty.

Bishop Gray condemns the Church Council.

Tells the Dean that his protest has saved the Church.

the Presbyters, your withdrawal vitiates the whole proceedings. Say what men will, the Presbyters are a distinct Order in the Church, and no acts are valid, as the acts of the Church, either at home or in the Colonies, which have not their concurrence. I only regret that you did not withdraw at once when this great principle was violated. I hope that you will continue to affirm that *that is no true Synod of the Church, when the clergy are not recognised as a distinct order, and allowed to vote by order, whenever any one of their number shall demand a vote by order.* I have pointed out to the Bishop what will probably be before long the consequences of the present rash proceedings. The laws passed by the ‘Council’ will be applied to some clergyman who resists. He will be punished. *He will then appeal to me.* I shall be compelled to decline to regard the laws enacted by your ‘Council,’ as the laws of the Church. I regard your ‘Conference’ as having recommended a *distinct violation* of the fundamental Constitution of the Church. They have, as far as they could, destroyed one Order.

Affirms that as Metropolitan he will ignore the Acts of Colenso’s “Council”.

“Laity shall always be a majority, and the clergy shall not vote as a distinct Order! I really could not have conceived that men would have been so infatuated. Do not, however, distress yourself. All will come right. These absurdities cannot last. At present you can but witness for a principle. Merriman all last year thought himself utterly useless. He has been the means of keeping the Grahamstown Diocese right. And God has a work doubtless for you to do now, amidst trials and anxieties. Your present standing ground is perfectly unassailable. Without the clergy the Church has no right to speak. They have stood aloof, *therefore the Church has not spoken.*”

Bishop Gray was firm enough on this question. He saw the vital importance of it to the whole Colonial Church. No American or Colonial Diocese had yet ventured to deny to the priests of the Diocese a right to sit in Synod as a *separate estate*, and to claim a vote by orders, when necessary.

Bishop Gray firm on this vital point.

It is difficult for clergy, accustomed only to the various Conferences and Congresses of the Established Church, to see the *vital point* for which Bishop Gray and Dean Green were contending in 1858. The Conferences and Congresses of the Established Church are consultative and not legislative. The Synods of the non-Established Churches of the Anglican Communion are *legislative bodies*. The clergy are bound, by their oaths of office and declarations at institution, to obey the laws and enactments of the Provincial and Diocesan Synods.

The bishops are bound, equally with the clergy, to administer and abide by the laws passed by their Synods.

Natal Church Council an uncanonical "legislative body".

And this *soi-disant* Natal "Church Council," which forced priests and laymen to vote as one House, and which deprived the priesthood of their right to vote, as a separate order, on any proposed legislation, was meant to be a *legislative body*, whose decisions were to be enforced by the Bishop, under the penalty of suspension and deprivation. Bishop Colenso meant to retain his own *veto* on the acts of his "Church Council," but he threw his priests to the wolves. And the laity, encouraged by the Bishop, declared that the separate vote of the priesthood was "Puseyism," "sacerdotalism," etc. We have already explained some of the causes of the action of the Durban Protestants. But other secondary causes were soon at work of a semi-political character. The young colony of Natal was very jealous of its own dignity, and there was a strong feeling against the subordination of the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal to the Governor of the Cape Colony. This watchful jealousy of the Cape Colony was very cleverly used in ecclesiastical matters. Hints were thrown out that Natal desired to be directly under the Archbishop of Canterbury, like Mauritius, and that the very idea of the Bishop of Natal being in the ecclesiastical Province of which Capetown is the Metropolitan See, was an offence to patriotic Natalians. This feeling was skilfully played upon in after years by Dr. Colenso and his party. The wonderful tact and gracious personality of the late Archbishop of Capetown, who made several official visits to Natal in recent years, has at length put an end to this separatist tendency in matters ecclesiastical. It is, however, still vigorous in the political sphere.

Natal jealousy of Cape Colony.

Consequent prejudice against the Metropolitan See.

It was not to be expected that the Natal "Church Council" would ignore the fact that Dean Green, and the majority of the priests of the Diocese, had declined to attend the first meeting of the "Council," after departing with a protest from the preliminary Conference which formed it. A committee was appointed with Dr. Mann, the head of the Government Education Department, as chairman, to inquire into the circumstances under which Dean Green, Archdeacon Mackenzie and others had declined to attend the "Council". A more disgraceful and virulent document than the Report of this Committee has never been issued since the days of the "Hot Gospellers" of the Reformation period. It is too long for insertion here, and out of respect to the memory of one who signed it in a moment of indiscretion, we will only touch

Church Council appoint a Committee to deal with the Dean.

upon its salient points. Its main charges against the Dean were based upon reports of his words, used in social intercourse in a private house, and upon a violation of his private correspondence. It is almost incredible that Bishop Colenso should have so far forgotten the social amenities of ordinary intercourse as to receive the Report of this Committee, and then officially forward it to the Metropolitan. The only reason for touching upon it here is that it was unearthed from oblivion in the Dean's later years, and officially attached to a "Statement" forwarded to Archbishop Benson in 1883, after Dr. Colenso's death, praying for a successor to be appointed to carry on his schism, under the specious title of "a Bishop of the Church of England". It may be noted here that the Natal Church Council referred the question of the clergy and laity voting as one estate to Archbishop Sumner. He was unfamiliar with such questions, and at first replied that he approved of the action taken. Afterwards he was better informed, and withdrew his approval.

The bitter language of its Report.

Reference to Archbishop Sumner.

Before sending it to the Metropolitan, Bishop Colenso furnished Dean Green with a copy of it, accompanied by the following letter:—

"3rd August, 1858.

"MY DEAR DEAN,

"I enclose a copy of a Report made by a Committee of the Church Council, which I am requested to forward to the Metropolitan in their name, as you may wish to communicate with him at the same time upon the subject.

"Yours faithfully,

"J. W. NATAL."

The Dean wrote the same day to the Metropolitan, and commented as follows on certain paragraphs of the Report:—

(i) "*The Very Rev. the Dean, as the avowed leader of the movement.*"

The Dean's comments on the Report of the Committee.

"I do not wish to shrink from proper responsibility, but it is due to the others to say that they think and act for themselves. We act, it is true, harmoniously, but on a footing of equality.

(ii) "*A long series of circumstances and authoritative documents show that there was a want of openness and candour in this position assumed at the time by the seceders; and that it was in reality a pretence put forward to mask the actual facts of the case.*"

On this the Dean remarks: "They are neither quoted nor

referred to. Our reasons for not attending the *Council* need not necessarily be either more or less than those for leaving the *Conference*; in fact, regulations made for the *Council* by the *Conference*, after we left, do furnish us reasons."

(iii) "*It now appears that the ground of the secession of the Very Rev. the Dean and his adherents is simply and purely this: They are willing to sit in and take part in the Councils of any assembly in which they would be allowed to exercise a supreme and unquestioned dictatorship, but they will not sit or take part in the Councils of any assembly in which such dictatorship is not recognised. So soon as the preliminary Conference, and the Church Council of Natal, show that it is not their intention to recognise such dictatorship, the very Rev. the Dean, and the three clergymen agreeing with his views, at once deprived these assemblies of the advantage of their presence and advice.*"

The Report proceeded as follows:—

"*It is absolutely essential to direct attention to the now unquestionable fact, that the Very Rev. the Dean of Maritzburg does not hold himself to be a fallible human being, but considers that he is an infallible interpreter of Scripture.*"

The Dean declines to notice the unworthy personal attack in the last quoted clause, but upon the previous ones he observes: "Supposing the clergy *did* form a separate estate, it is not clear that my adherents and myself would command a majority. Further, by reference to Minutes of Conference (p. 6) it will be seen that the Archdeacon moved that the members of the Conference shall give their opinion in two bodies:—viz., of the clergy and laity. This rule, modified by Dr. Callaway's amendment, was rescinded the next day, after much agitation of the members during the interval of sitting. Instead, therefore, of *dictating*, we submitted to most unusual *dictation*, even on vital points; but, as the Conference was formed for a time only, we endeavoured to work with it. This is also the fitting place to remark that before leaving the Conference we moved an adjournment until the next day, that we might have time to deliberate and confer with the Bishop. The House, however, refused to adjourn, though an adjournment under similar circumstances had been granted at the request of others. We next solicited the Bishop to adjourn by his own authority. His Lordship *declined* to do so. The fact of our granting it to others, and having it refused, bears on the question of dictation."

(iv) "*Upon one occasion the Very Rev. the Dean expressed surprise that the Conference of the Church lately assembled at*

Maritzburg, did not tremble when he told them they were acting in opposition to the Bible."

On this paragraph of the Report the Dean observes: "One afternoon, a day or two after the Conference had risen, I received a friendly note from Mr. Wathen stating that the Manns were still staying with him, asking me to take a cup of tea with them, and chat over matters. I went, and now submit that Dr. Mann and Mr. Wathen are not at liberty to abuse the rites of hospitality so far as to invite a gentleman to visit them, in order to draw from him materials to use against him in public. Were I to follow their example, and furnish the context to the words in italics, they would wear a very different character."

(v) "*Upon one occasion, notorious to the world, the Very Rev. the Dean, in concert with the Rev. Canon Jenkins, withdrew from the Communion, and declined to partake of the sacred rite with his Lordship, in consequence of the views expressed in his Lordship's sermon.*"

On this the Dean observes: "The Bishop has preached a series of sermons which form the general topic of conversation as to whether they are orthodox or heretical. No one doubts but that they gave great pain to Canon Jenkins and myself, yet we have regularly communicated. Our rule therefore is evidently to communicate. The case referred to is but exceptional, when we exercised the undoubted right of every Christian of abstaining, if he felt himself from any cause unprepared. It is impossible to argue that due subordination requires me to communicate, however agitated or disturbed my mind may be."

(vi) "*He (the Dean) says that in case of any difference of opinion between himself and the laity of the Church, the laity are bound to yield obedience to him, pending an appeal to higher ecclesiastical authority.*"

The Dean remarks that these words were "a sort of *résumé* of part of the conversation at Mr. Wathen's tea-table".

The Dean very properly made no comments on that portion of the Report which touched upon the doctrine of Bishop Colenso's sermons on the Eucharist, since the Metropolitan had already dealt with it.

(vii) "*It is worthy of note, as a forcible illustration of the spirit by which the Very Rev. the Dean is actuated in his proceedings, that at the Vestry meeting, in which the Dean adhered to his course of secession from those who differed from himself, by vacating the Chair, when he found there was a majority of*

the Vestry meeting against his wishes and views, the Dean refused to allow any comment to be made upon the topics and remarks introduced into his own address."

The Dean remarks on this paragraph: "At the meeting, before proceeding to business, I told it, that, as I did not intend to attend the Council, it was but due to my parishioners to state my reasons. I accordingly did so, but added that I wished to have no discussion, as to discuss would be to criticise, not only my, but the Bishop's, opinions. Had I allowed this, the Bishop would have had ground of complaint. After delivering my sentiments, I laid on the table a Resolution to the effect that, as the Dean had expressed such grave doubts as to whether the constitution of the Council was not at variance with Holy Scripture, we request the Delegates to petition the Bishop not to proceed to business, until he had consulted the Metropolitan and his brother Bishops. The Resolution did not express concurrence in my views, nor bind the Delegates to retire from the Council, if their petition were refused. The meeting rejected it by a majority of one. I then left the Chair, not because the Vestry differed from myself, but because they would not agree to ask for advice. I may here add that I thought the matter over beforehand—advised with laymen of experience and judgment, and therefore acted, not peremptorily, but after much deliberation."

(viii) "*Your Committee deem it their duty to put on record, that, on the day of the existing Church Council, the Very Rev. the Dean, the Rev. Canon Jenkins, and the Rev. R. Robertson, again deliberately and publicly set themselves in hostile antagonism to their Bishop, their fellow clergy and the laity at large, by absenting themselves from the celebration of Divine worship and the Holy Communion.*"

The Dean's comment upon this paragraph is very much to the point. "The services were special to invoke a blessing on the Council, or, rather, the Council was opened by these services. With our expressed opinions respecting the Council, I cannot understand how we could be present."

The Appendix to the Report denounces Mr. Crompton as "a self-willed and eccentric enthusiast" and a "perverse schismatic," recapitulating his action with regard to Bishop Colenso, which has already been recorded in these pages. The reason for this denunciation of Mr. Crompton was that the Dean consulted him privately, as a man of learning and ability, as to the irregular position taken up by the Church Council. The Dean's reply to this Appendix is characteristic: "I can-

not say how these gentlemen became acquainted with the contents of my private letters. I leave it to your Lordship to say whether using them was allowable or becoming."

The Report of this Committee, and the Dean's notes upon it, reached Bishop Gray whilst he was still in England. The Metropolitan wrote of it to the Dean as follows: "It is a very sad document. I do not like to write what I feel about it, because I should use strong expressions, and if quoted, they would do harm. They have, however, placed you in an enviable position. You have much, very much, to forgive. I hope that you will make the first advances towards conciliation. When the laity abandon their untenable ground, there will be nothing to prevent the Diocese acting together. The laity have gone too far in the way of Synodical action to recede."

It is manifest, from the Metropolitan's letter, that he did not yet realise the bitter conflict of ideals which was agitating the Diocese of Natal. His eyes were shut to this obvious fact for several years yet to come. Dean Green saw the true issues and took his stand accordingly through evil report and good report.

At the moment Bishop Gray was full of his scheme for new Bishoprics for Zululand, and the Orange Free State. The consent of Bishop Colenso was necessary for his plans. He had also difficulties with Bishop Cotterill of Grahamstown, who had made Archdeacon Merriman's position very unpleasant, by making him (to use his own graphic phrase) "the fifth wheel of a waggon". He was suspicious of the Archdeacon's doctrinal opinions, and trouble ensued, because the Archdeacon declined to present a candidate for Priest's orders, who was unsound in the faith. Bishop Cotterill had been brought up in a narrow type of Protestantism, and conceived it his duty to thwart Bishop Gray's policy. It was only natural for the Metropolitan to make the best of his two recalcitrant suffragans. His policy succeeded with Bishop Cotterill, whose Churchmanship grew and strengthened, until he completely emerged from the influences of his early training, and became a most stout-hearted and thorough supporter of Bishop Gray. It was far otherwise with Bishop Colenso. We have already seen that he withdrew his recommendation of Archdeacon Mackenzie, as Missionary Bishop of Zululand, and of Dean Green as Bishop for the Orange Free State. He thus was able to put an effectual check on Bishop Gray's plans, until the Bishop of St. Helena was consecrated, because the Province at that time consisted only of three Bishops, and the consent of all three

The Metropolitan's
censure of the
Report of the
Committee.

He failed to
realise the
conflict in
Natal.

His difficulties at
Grahamstown and
elsewhere.

was necessary for the consecration of Bishops for the proposed new Dioceses.

Ability of the
leaders of the
Natal Erastian
party.

The conflict in Natal between the conception of the Church as a visible body governed by her own laws, and the conception of the Church as the creature of the Royal Supremacy, and of Tudor Acts of Parliament, was bitter, from the very first beginnings of Church work in the Diocese. Bishop Gray's hopeful reference to a change of view on the part of the laity, who supported and urged on Bishop Colenso, was based on insufficient grounds. The Durban Protestants, who led the movement, were clever and able in fighting for their own Erastian ideals. The opposition to the ideals of the Catholic revival in Natal was better led and conducted than it was in England or anywhere else. There was none of the usual virulence of attack on "Popery". The Natal Erastians were too clever for mere vulgar "Orange Protestant" methods. They had a case—a bad case it is true—based upon sundry Acts of Parliament and Tudor Reformation documents. But they were much cleverer in presenting their case to the public than the "Church Association" in England has ever been. Some of them held high positions in the Colony of Natal as civil servants, professional men, and politicians. Bishop Gray undervalued their powers of opposition, until it was too late for effective action. When the time came for a definite parting of the ways, after Dr. Colenso was deposed, these people were rooted in their Erastianism, and well organised for resistance. There were a few able laymen in Natal who were loyal to Church principles, and faithful to Church order. But they were not as well organised as their Erastian opponents, who in latter days were led by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, one of the ablest politicians in South Africa.

Bishop Gray
undervalued
their strength.

Bishop
Colenso an
Erastian
Protestant.

From the very first Bishop Colenso was an Erastian Protestant, who denied the existence of the Divinely ordered polity of the Catholic Church. His biographer, Sir G. Cox, says that "he had already discerned and laid down the lines within which the controversy (*i.e.*, between himself and the Metropolitan) must be decided." He wrote to Bishop Gray on 1st December, 1858, as follows: "I use the word Province of the South African Dioceses, but only in a popular way. I see clearly Canon Jenkins, and probably the Dean, does not, but looks upon you as an independent Metropolitan. That you would be doubtless, if you were Metropolitan by Church authority, and not by Royal Patent."

On this Bishop Colenso's biographer remarks: "It follows

that no judgment of a South African, or any, Metropolitan could be final, whether their patents were valid or not; that the appeal from these Metropolitans to the English Primate was to him not personally, but officially, and thus from him lay the final appeal to the sovereign in Council" (*Life of Bishop Colenso*, vol. i. p. 101).

Here was the true issue, which Bishop Gray as yet did not perceive. Bishop Colenso and his supporters could not conceive of the existence of the "Ecclesia Anglicana" apart from the Supremacy of the Crown exercised through a Court, absolutely secular in its constitution, such as the Privy Council is, and always has been. Bishop Gray saw that the unestablished Churches in the Colonies must be freed from the Royal Supremacy, and the consequent domination of the Privy Council, as a Final Court of Appeal in matters of faith and doctrine. He used strong language about the Privy Council—none too strong, as we shall see later on, when he saw that the intention of a party in South Africa, and of a powerful party in England, was to subject the poor, weak, and practically unendowed Churches of the Colonies to a yoke of Erastian subservience to the decisions of a secular Court of Appeal, which the Church of England never accepted through her Convocations, and against which her Bishops made an almost unanimous protest in the House of Lords in 1850, when a Bill was brought in to provide a true spiritual Court of Appeal, which unfortunately did not become law. The debate elicited the remarkable admission from Lord Brougham that the inclusion of ecclesiastical causes within the purview of the Privy Council, as an Appellate Court in 1832, was entirely *per incuriam*. This admission by the chief author of the Bill, which made the Privy Council a final Court of Appeal for all causes, civil and ecclesiastical, was, to say the least, very significant. But in 1858, Bishop Gray hoped for the best with regard to the Erastian convictions of Bishop Colenso and his followers, and did not realise that they cherished ideals absolutely irreconcilable with the Catholic Faith. The after history of the whole Natal controversy shows that the conflict with Erastian Protestantism may really be dated from Bishop Colenso's landing in Natal, and that it was waged with increasing bitterness after his death in 1883. Even now there are schismatic congregations in Natal who have separated on Erastian-Protestant grounds, and their followers in Johannesburg are maintaining, with the aid of the Church Association in England, a schismatic congregation within the Diocese of

He denied the existence of the English Church apart from the Royal Supremacy.

Bishop Gray saw that the Colonial Churches must be freed from the Royal Supremacy.

Lord Brougham's admission re the Privy Council.

Conflict of the Erastian and Catholic ideals in Natal dates from 1853.

Bishop Colenso's heresies only a side-issue.

Bishop Colenso denies the existence of the "Province" of South Africa.

He states that his Diocese is a part of the "Established Church".

Pretoria. The great struggle all along has been to maintain Church principles against the Erastian-Protestant conception of the Church of England. The personal heresies of Bishop Colenso were really a side-issue of the greater conflict, although their notoriety has obscured this fact in the eyes of most people. The acute spiritual perceptions of Dean Green saw matters from the very first as they really were.

A month after his previously quoted letter to the Metropolitan, Bishop Colenso wrote to Dean Green on the subject of the Metropolitan's position as follows: "I think it right to say that I do not recognise the existence of any *Province* in which we can be said to be included, except the term be used, in a certain sense, of the *Province of Canterbury*. It was to the Archbishop of that Province that both I and the Bishop of Grahamstown (late and present) were presented as the Consecration Service directs, and, though we took the oath of all due reverence and obedience to the Bishop of Capetown as Metropolitan, yet I do not believe that either the Crown or the Church contemplated the formation of an *independent* 'Province,' or an *independent* Metropolitan, either of Capetown, Calcutta or New Zealand. Each of these Metropolitan Bishops is, of course, independent of the others, but they are all subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury in the same way as their suffragans are to them, nor does the term 'Province,' as far as I am aware, occur in any formal documents with reference to such cases, though it may be sometimes convenient to use it in a *popular* sense, to describe a number of associated Sees, and in this sense, I take it for granted, Mr. Jenkins uses it in the present instance. At all events I think it right to state plainly my view of the case, lest I should be understood as in any way surrendering a principle which I hold most dear, *viz.* : that we are not merely a branch of the Catholic Church at large, *in union and full communion* with the Church of England, but are actually a part of the *United Church of England and Ireland*, and placed under the Bishop of Capetown, not as an *independent* Metropolitan, but as a Metropolitan *dependent* on the Primate Archbishop of Canterbury, and subject (as his patent expresses it) to the general superintendence and *revision* of his Grace, in the discharge of his office as Metropolitan."

It may be said here that Bishop Colenso's idea of an "independent" Metropolitan meant a Metropolitan independent of the Privy Council and its ecclesiastical decisions. His idea was that all the disabilities of the Tudor Reformation, and the Erastian fetters of the State connection, were to be

servilely reproduced in the colonies, without any of the His wish to
 countervailing "privileges" of the Church of England as an reproduce
 Establishment. The Royal Supremacy, as exercised by a "Erastian-
 Parliament composed of persons of any and no religion, and ism" in the
 as determined by the Privy Council, was to govern the Colonial Church.
 Churches in matters of faith, doctrine and discipline. The
 Colonial Bishop's oath to his Metropolitan really meant no
 more than a sort of precedence accorded to him, robbed of all
 the power of jurisdiction which the canon law allows to Metro-
 politans, and conditioned by an appeal to the Archbishop of
 Canterbury and through him to the Crown, represented by the
 Privy Council.

If this Erastian-Protestant conception of the unestablished
 Colonial Churches had been allowed to prevail, the expansion,
 progress, and Catholic life of the Anglican Communion in the
 Colonies would have become *impossible*. The history of the The history of
 Erastian-Protestant views of Bishop Colenso and his followers of the
 is well known. It began with the invasion of foreign Protest- Erastian-
 antism which, under Hooper, Bucer and Peter Martyr, Protestant
 dominated the Church of England in 1552, and emerged in view of the
 partial triumph, after the brief Marian reaction, in the reign of Church held
 Elizabeth. The Puritan element, foreign in its origin, received by Bishop
 a slight check from the writings of Hooker, the policy of Ban- Colenso.
 croft, the spiritual influence of Andrewes, and the firm
 administration of Laud. It won a "Pyrrhic victory" under
 Cromwell, since the judicial murders of Laud and Charles I.
 caused a temporary reaction at the Restoration. The Revolu- Its triumph
 tion of 1688 was the triumph of its Erastian elements, and the in 1688.
 Whig domination of the eighteenth century found its most
 faithful exponents in Bishop Hoadly (a Colenso by anticipa-
 tion) and in the church policy of Sir Robert Walpole. The
 Whig ideal of the Church was that it was a department of the
 civil service, subservient in all points to the State, and, at its
 best, useful only as a sort of moral police force. Keble's famous Its defeat by
 assize sermon of 1832 was the beginning of the Catholic the Catholic
 Revival. The forgotten theology of the Fathers and the Revival of
 Caroline divines was once more studied. 1832.

A passionate conviction that the Church Catholic was a Tractarian
 visible society, possessing its own spiritual rights, and governed ideals in the
 by its own laws, as the Kingdom of Christ upon earth, founding of
 possessed the souls of the Tractarian leaders. Bishop Selwyn the Church in
 went to New Zealand in 1842, and Bishop Gray to South South Africa.
 Africa in 1847, to transplant the ideals of the Catholic Revival
 into the virgin soil of these distant parts of the British Empire.

In South Africa the task was specially difficult. The Dutch Reformed Calvinists, with their powerful and compact organisation, had been virtually the Established Church of the country for nearly 200 years. The English settlers, neglected by the Church since the capture of the Cape in 1806, were naturally influenced by the defective form of Christianity in possession. Bishop Gray's position was complicated by the uncertain validity of his Letters Patent, which were drawn at a time when the Crown lawyers did not understand that the Act of Uniformity had no validity outside England itself, and when most colonists thought that they carried with them, in emigrating, all the laws of the Establishment under their hats. The idea that the Colonial Churches were not part and parcel of the Establishment had not dawned upon the minds of many, until the case "*Regina v. Eton College*," in 1856, showed that the Crown could not claim the patronage of a living vacated by a person appointed to a colonial see, as it could in the case of a person appointed to a see in the Established Church. The reason assigned by Lord Campbell's judgment was that the Church of England, as an "Establishment," could not legally exist out of England. Bishop Colenso's view that Bishop Gray was not a Metropolitan by Church authority was contrary to the facts. The first of the Preliminary Resolutions of the first Provincial Synod of 1870, which were drawn under eminent legal advice, states that the "Ecclesiastical Province" of South Africa was formed from the original Diocese of Cape-town "in accordance with the decision of authorities of the English Church." People do not now doubt that the Colonial Churches are free from the disabilities of the Established Church. They see now what Bishop Gray and Dean Green were contending for in the early "fifties". But in the confusion and dust of the conflict in Natal in those days, it is no disparagement of Bishop Gray, who was in many respects the greatest prelate of the Anglican Communion since Laud, to say that Dean Green saw the true issue of events and the necessity for prompt action, before the Metropolitan had grasped the situation.

Lord Campbell's judgment decides that the Church in the Colonies is *not* the Establishment.

Bishop Colenso writes to the Metropolitan desiring to be rid of the Dean.

We have already seen that Bishop Colenso desired to rid himself of the presence of Dean Green. He was still more anxious to effect this after the Church Council controversy, when he found that the Dean was determined to defend the doctrine and discipline of the Church at all hazards to himself. We find him writing to Bishop Gray in April, 1858: "Unless I am judged and deposed as a heretic, I must live and die

preaching the doctrine of these sermons in this my post of duty, and it will be miserable to feel that every sermon I preach will sound to the Dean as heresy—I need hardly say that under such circumstances it will be impossible for us to work together with any cordiality henceforward. And if I am not to be removed from my office, heartily glad should I be if one of his friends would present him with a good living in England.”

It will be noted that Bishop Colenso seemed, at this early date, to be aware that he held views which might lead him “to be judged and deposed as a heretic,” unless he was using language to gratify the Metropolitan by an outward deference, which might lead Bishop Gray to help him to get rid of Dean Green. At all events he began to work for that end himself.

The Dean and Canon Jenkins had established a Cathedral School, at which the choristers were educated. Bishop Colenso wrote to the Dean on 16th December, 1858, giving him notice to quit the building in which the school was held. Canon Jenkins was in England on leave, and the Committee of the Grammar School, which Bishop Colenso had organised, took possession of the school house which Canon Jenkins had occupied, and removed his books and property without giving him any notice. Dean Green calls this “an unusual act of discourtesy,” and so it was. The Dean’s school was educating a certain number of free scholars, which the Bishop’s new Grammar School would not admit without payment. The Dean pointed out the hardship of this course of action, but in vain. Bishop Colenso was very glad to make the return of Canon Jenkins to the Diocese difficult, and, by a somewhat arbitrary process, he declared his canonry vacant, and appointed the Rev. C. S. Grubb Canon in his stead.

This indirect attack on the Dean’s policy and work was followed by a direct attack upon his income. The S.P.G. allowed a large grant to the Diocese, and Bishop Colenso, after his *Ten Weeks in Natal*, wrote to Dean Green in 1854 allotting him £150 per annum from the S.P.G. grant on account of “the zeal and earnest spirit of self-devotion with which you have been labouring so long at Maritzburg”.

The “Church Council” in 1860 drew up a Report on Diocesan Finance, which recommended that the grant of £150 per annum to Dean Green should be applied to other purposes. The Dean only had £100 from Government as Colonial Chaplain, and this sudden drop in his income was a serious question for him, especially as he could not doubt that it was a move

to cause his resignation. The Bishop wrote to the Cathedral churchwardens, telling them that they must make up the Dean's income from their parochial resources. This intimation of the Bishop's was reasonable enough under ordinary circumstances, but the Cathedral congregation could not help viewing it in the light of past events. Archdeacon Mackenzie had lent £500 to the Cathedral without interest, and the churchwardens were paying off this loan. The Dean therefore represented to the Bishop, and to the S.P.G., the extreme difficulty of repaying this loan, if the shortfall in his income had to be made up by the congregation. At that time there appears to have been an acute difference between the S.P.G. and Bishop Gray, who wrote to Dean Green from England: "My greatest trial in England is the Committee of S.P.G. which has given me infinite trouble and vexation". It was therefore unlikely that Bishop Gray could aid Dean Green in the matter, as the S.P.G. evidently regarded him as a *persona ingrata* to Bishop Colenso, and viewed the reduction of his grant from this standpoint only.

Bishop Gray
and the
S.P.G.

Reduction of
the Dean's
income from
S.P.G.

Bishop Colenso therefore was able to write to the Dean on 8th March, 1861, that the Society would allow him £100 only for 1862, £50 for 1863, and nothing after that date. It is fitting to record here that Bishop Colenso was much impressed with a letter he received from the Metropolitan in 1859 upon the Church Council controversy. Justice to the better side of Bishop Colenso's character demands that his offer of a compromise to the Dean and his followers should be here recorded.

The Metropolitan had suggested a compromise whereby the uncatholic denial of the right of the clergy to vote in their separate order, as a distinct estate, should be passed by in silence, in hopes that the Church Council at *some future time* would amend its faulty constitution.

Bishop
Colenso
writes to the
Dean
suggesting a
compromise
with regard
to the Church
Council.

Bishop Colenso writes to Dean Green, "I confidently hope that this change will soon be effected. But I cannot consent, or think it right, to *coerce* the Council to such a course. Under these circumstances will you attend, and take part in, the next meeting?"

The Dean felt, however, that this compromise was impossible. If he and his followers had attended, the majority of the Council would have said in their hearts, "No need for any change *now*. These rebels have come back of their own accord." The Dean's reply to this invitation to attend the Council has not been preserved. But doubtless it reciprocated

with due courtesy the overtures thus made, and contained a refusal on the ground of fundamental principles.

In 1860 Archdeacon Mackenzie left the Diocese for Eng-
land, and the Rev. T. G. Fearn of Richmond was appointed
Archdeacon of Durban in his stead. We have no space to
record here the well-known story of the foundation of the
Universities' Mission, the spark struck by Livingstone in the
great meeting at Cambridge, and the enthusiasm which was
kindled by Archdeacon Mackenzie himself when he travelled
about England as Bishop Elect. The legal difficulties which
stood in the way of his consecration as a Missionary Bishop
in England seemed to Bishop Gray as "Pelion piled on Ossa".
The Tudor Reformation, and the Protestantism of the fifteenth
century generally, left no room for Christian Missions. This
lack of organised missionary effort in the Reformation period
left its mark upon the administrative machinery of the Estab-
lished Church. The Crown lawyers could devise no plan
whereby a Bishop could be consecrated to head a mission to
Central Africa. So Bishop Gray acted without them. He
determined to consecrate Archdeacon Mackenzie in Capetown
Cathedral. Of course he had trouble with Bishop Colenso on
this point. Bishop Cotterill was also afraid of new departures.
But the Metropolitan was supported by the Bishop of St. Helena,
and the consecration of Bishop Mackenzie took place in Capetown
Cathedral on 1st January, 1861—Bishop Colenso and Bishop
Claughton of St. Helena being the Metropolitan's assistants in
the consecration. Bishop Mackenzie's letter to the Dean, after his
consecration, reveals the man as he was in his fervour, devotion
and strength. He writes from H.M.S. *Lyra*, which took him from
Capetown to Durban: "I hope somehow to see you in Natal. We
land to-morrow in time for church, I hope, and sail on Thursday.
If, as we expect, Alice is in Durban, I shall not like to leave her,
even to see Maritzburg people. But you would come down, would
you not? It may be the last time we may see each other."

Archdeacon
Mackenzie
leaves
Durban.

He is con-
secrated
Missionary
Bishop in
Capetown
Cathedral.
His letter to
Dean Green
on his con-
secration.

This strange foreboding of Bishop Mackenzie was too true. The story of his death, before his work had well begun, is known of all who love the work of the Universities' Mission, and realise that the death of the pioneer Bishop in 1861 was only the precursor of many other noble deaths, whereby the work of that great mission has been built up to the glory of God. The Bishop's letter proceeds: "The only point of difference between the Bishop of Natal and the other two about the consecration was, whether they were acting on their own

responsibility, or merely carrying out the will of the Church at home, which might have asked the Bishops here to consecrate, feeling a difficulty in its being done in England. The Bishops of Capetown and St. Helena were clear (as of course was I, and all who know anything) that I was sent by the Church in South Africa at the suggestion of the Church at home. The Bishop of Natal thought *not*, and declined to sign a document assigning me a field of labour—signing only a formal statement of consecration (like Letters of Orders). Then also he was not clear about my right to a seat in a Provincial Synod, if such were held at Capetown. Accordingly I took the oath of obedience to the Metropolitan, and the question of a seat in Synod was agreed to be referred to Convocation in England. The day itself was a glorious day. It is a holiday for merry making (*i.e.*, New Year's Day) so that there was no crowd; but the Church was full of people really interested. The Dean (Douglas, afterwards Bishop of Bombay) preached *like a man*, and a *Churchman*. The Communion was well attended. I could not help congratulating the Bishop of Capetown upon the success of his wishes, and of the *principle*, though I did not desire to be congratulated myself. God bless him! I love him with all my heart. . . . The daily chapel was so sweet and so strengthening; and during the last week he introduced a prayer, leaving out their habitual petitions for *the far-distant son of this house* (Charlie at Oxford), and putting in instead petitions for us. . . . How blessed is the hope of a continuing abode in that land where all shall be love and peace. *And the time is short*. But meetings on earth are pleasant.

"I hope much to see you—meanwhile good-bye.

"Yours affectionately,

"C. F. MACKENZIE."

Bishop
Colenso's
letter on
Bishop
Mackenzie's
consecration.

Bishop Mackenzie's allusions to Bishop Colenso's difficulties as to his consecration are illustrated by a letter written by the Bishop of Natal to a friend in England, in which he emphasises his denial that Bishop Mackenzie had become a suffragan of the Province of Capetown. The Bishop of St. Helena had to come in a vessel chartered for the purpose, and Bishop Colenso observes the "hobby of having the consecration at Capetown, which was to bear out the notion of *the South African Church* sending out the mission to the Zambesi, has been a very costly one, and I think the experiment will not soon be repeated" (*Life*, vol. i. p. 126). We see here the conflict of the Erastian and Catholic ideals. Bishop Colenso could not tolerate the

formation of Colonial Provinces under their own Metropolitans. Any reference to the Canon Law of Christendom, or to the constitution of the Primitive Church, was in instant conflict with his views. He had no wider outlook than the Tudor Reformation and the Parliamentary enactments which bind the Church of England as an Establishment. The Bishops, after Bishop Mackenzie's consecration, held a Conference or Synod. It was on this occasion that Bishop Gray first began to have a true insight into the views and policy of Bishop Colenso. It appears, from his own evidence, that Bishop Colenso pressed his views on polygamy upon his brother Bishops, who thereupon passed a resolution to refer them to Convocation. In a letter dated 20th November, 1860, the Metropolitan had said (even before meeting Bishop Colenso), "Natal is a very wilful headstrong man, and loose, I fear, in his opinions upon vital points. We shall have to fight for Revelation, Inspiration, the Atonement, and every great truth of Christianity ere long." Bishop Colenso's restraint of manner with his brother Bishops, coupled with an occasional outspokenness of strange views, perplexed them very much. After the conference of Bishops, the Metropolitan wrote on 9th January, 1861, "I am very anxious about Natal. His views are dangerous. I fear we may have taught in Africa *another Gospel, which is not another.*"

Bishop Cotterill of Grahamstown missed his steamer at Port Elizabeth, and was consequently late for the consecration. He signed the resolutions of the Conference of Bishops after the Bishop of Natal and Bishop Mackenzie had left. It would be most unjust to Bishop Gray if the difficulties were not mentioned, which weighed upon him so heavily when Bishop Colenso's sermons on the Holy Eucharist, and his unconstitutional action with regard to the "Church Council," were officially brought before him. His hands were grievously weakened by the support given by Bishop Cotterill to the Erastianism of Bishop Colenso and his followers in Natal. The subsequent loyal support which Bishop Cotterill accorded to the Metropolitan, and the prominent part which he took in the trial and deposition of Bishop Colenso, does not justify the suppression of his former keen and active opposition to Bishop Gray. The writer of this volume thinks that the full truth of the momentous events, which influenced South African Church history fifty years ago, should be brought to light, in justice to all who took part in them.

In the previous chapter Bishop Gray's inaction with regard to Bishop Colenso's heresy on the Eucharist was criticised.

Circumstances of Bishop Cotterill's appointment in 1856.

Bishop Gray's protest to Archbishop Sumner against it.

Bishop Cotterill begins his Episcopate badly.

The criticism is not now retracted, but silence as to the part played by the Bishop of Grahamstown in supporting Bishop Colenso, and consequently hampering and perplexing the Metropolitan, would be unfair to his memory. Bishop Gray was not responsible for Bishop Cotterill's appointment, as he was for that of Bishop Colenso. After the death of Bishop Armstrong in 1856, the Metropolitan was most anxious for the nomination of Archdeacon Merriman to the vacant see. The Colonial Office in those days practically allowed the Archbishop of Canterbury to appoint Colonial Bishops. Archdeacon Merriman's appointment was almost *un fait accompli*, when the Port Elizabeth Protestants, who have already been mentioned as having seceded from St. Mary's, addressed Archbishop Sumner and asked for the appointment of a Protestant Bishop of Grahamstown, who would support their secession against the influence of the Metropolitan, and Archdeacon Merriman. Archbishop Sumner distrusted the Metropolitan, and procured the appointment of Bishop Cotterill, whom he consecrated in 1856. On 22nd November, 1856, the Metropolitan wrote as follows: "It is very painful to me to have to remonstrate with the Archbishop. But I do feel strongly that the appointment is a wrong and an injustice to many, and that I am the person who, from my position, am marked out as the proper channel of communicating to his Grace the feelings of others. He has allowed himself to be made the tool of violent partisans. I am deeply grieved to have been compelled to take a step which must alter all my future relations with the Archbishop; but in writing as I have done, I believe I have done my duty to God and the Church, and feeling this, it would have been mean and faithless to be silent."

Bishop Cotterill began his episcopate by creating a schism in the parish of St. Mary, Port Elizabeth, and violating every principle of Church order, by licensing a clergyman to minister to the seceders. This clergyman was a thorn in his side afterwards, and, when it was too late, Bishop Cotterill regretted his hasty partisanship. He was a man of conspicuous abilities, and was Senior Wrangler at Cambridge in 1835. He was brought up in narrow Evangelical ideas, but his intellect was, as the sequel will show, capable of emerging from prejudices. But, until he thus emerged, he powerfully supported the Erastian Protestantism of Bishop Colenso and his followers in Natal. He encouraged Bishop Colenso to resist the claims of the Metropolitan, with a vehemence of language which Bishop Colenso himself did not use towards Bishop Gray, until after

his trial and deposition ; at which trial Bishop Cotterill, *tantum mutatus ab illo Hectore*, assisted as one of the Metropolitan's assessors.

In 1858 Bishop Colenso circulated in his Diocese the Metropolitan's opinion on his sermons on the Holy Eucharist, which was inserted in the previous chapter. Bishop Cotterill wrote to Bishop Colenso on the question of Metropolitan jurisdiction in the same year. He writes: "I confess it seems to me you have rather conceded too much by your circulating the Metropolitan's opinion on your doctrine. It seems to me of the utmost consequence that we should not in any way admit the principle that the Metropolitan is *episcopus episcoporum*. I speak my mind to you freely, because I do not see where this interference is to end, if we admit it. It is curious how some of these men, on points which fall in with their views, will insist upon the most rigid adherence to Anglican customs ; but in reality they are longing for development. A South African Church Catholic might (especially with the aid of three more Bishops who should be free from the fetters of the Queen's supremacy, etc.) set an example to the whole Church of *restoration*. Who knows what ancient customs, vestments and other Catholic practices (*confession, e.g.*, to which I hear there is a strong tendency in a neighbouring Diocese) might not be revived, if only we could forget that we are an *integral part* of the Church of England? I have no doubt that the Tractarian party, feeling that in England the battle cannot be fought with success, have been for some time looking to the colonies, as the field where they might establish practices which would ultimately react on England."

He writes to Bishop Colenso to encourage his resistance to the Metropolitan.

Six years later Bishop Cotterill, in a masterly charge to his Synod, upheld the Metropolitan's jurisdiction with all the force of his intellect, when he realised that it was vitally necessary to the Church. He saw that his idea that the South African Church was an *integral part* of the Church of England was an absurdity. Bishop Cotterill saw that he was utterly mistaken in supposing that the Royal supremacy extended to the Colonies. In his charge of 1864 he said, it had been "decided that, whatever other value the Letters Patent possess, in this very point of forming the bishops and clergy of the Church of England here into an organised body they have no legal force. The supremacy of the Sovereign in legislating for the Church is not in exercise here ; the judicial supremacy of the Sovereign in the Church has no force in our communion" (*i.e.*, in the South African Church).

Bishop Cotterill changes his views and supports the Metropolitan.

He denies the
Royal
Supremacy
over the
Colonial
Church.

Bishop Cotterill threw his whole force on the right side, when he really understood that the Colonial Churches were free from the Royal supremacy, the decisions of the Privy Council in matters of faith and doctrine, and the Erastian fetters binding the Church of England to the State. But this cannot lead us to ignore his previous support of Bishop Colenso's Erastianism, and the difficulties thereby caused to the Metropolitan by his lack of comprehension of the true position of the Church in the colonies. When the Metropolitan desired to form new dioceses in Zululand and the Orange Free State, Bishop Cotterill vehemently opposed this increase of the South African Church. He wrote to Bishop Colenso in terms of abuse of the Metropolitan, which in those days Bishop Colenso himself never used. Writing of Zululand, he expressed himself as follows:—

His previous
letters to
Bishop
Colenso.

"With respect to the Bishop of Capetown's jurisdiction over your outlying parts, I feel certain (as far as I can feel certain about a body so heterogeneous as the S.P.G.) that, if you protest, they must place the mission under you. They acknowledge—speaking in an under whisper, the *monstrous insolence* (I cannot call it by a milder term) of the claims of the Bishop of Capetown. He has tried the same thing with myself and the Orange Free State, declaring it was on his *conscience*, and I know not what beside."

Bishop Cotterill and Bishop Colenso put forward the absurd claim that territories, belonging to the original See of Capetown, and outside the limits of their own Dioceses, belonged—not to the Metropolitan, but to the Bishop who was geographically nearest to them. On this principle Bishop Colenso appears to have claimed Zululand, a part of the original Diocese of Capetown, and outside the Diocese of Natal, and Bishop Cotterill claimed the Orange Free State on like grounds. Bishop Colenso in 1858 thought of resigning his See to become Missionary Bishop of Zululand. Bishop Cotterill wrote to dissuade him from this course, and succeeded in doing so. He writes: "My own feeling is very strongly that the position you there occupy is one of great importance to the interests of the Colonial Church, and the fact that you have met with difficulties from your Tractarian Clergy makes it all the more necessary that you should remain at your post. Besides this, you have, I trust, gained, after many struggles, the confidence of your laity. To leave them to such a Bishop as might be appointed your successor, would be a serious injury to your Diocese, and the results might be most serious. Suppose, for example, that

your present Archdeacon were appointed (and I suppose great exertions would be made by the Bishop of Oxford and others to obtain the appointment for him—no doubt heaven and earth would be moved to have one like-minded with him appointed) consider what a discouragement it would be to the sound-minded laity."

Bishop Cotterill's "sound-minded laity" were the Durban Protestant Erastians. The "Archdeacon" he alludes to was Archdeacon Mackenzie, who was a *sound*, but by no means an "advanced," Churchman. Writing again of the Metropolitan to Bishop Colenso, Bishop Cotterill so far forgot himself as to use the following words: "I acknowledge to you that his ambition (I can call it nothing else), and the very slight disguise with which he now thinks it necessary to conceal it, amazes me, and makes me more resolved than ever to withstand his assumptions".

He accuses
Bishop Gray
of ambition.

Bishop Cotterill's subsequent strong support of the Metropolitan cannot divest him of the responsibility of encouraging Bishop Colenso's Erastianism, and his resistance to the Metropolitan, in every possible way.

Sir G. W. Cox, who originally published these letters from Bishop Cotterill, in his carefully compiled *Life of Bishop Colenso*, remarks shrewdly on Bishop Gray's "want of insight" in imagining that Bishop Colenso was at any time in harmony with his views or policy. He says that the Metropolitan's failure "to discern the great gulf that separated his theology from that of the Bishop of Natal, can only have been from a lack of discernment on his own part". This is true enough; and when we add to it the disloyal attitude of Bishop Cotterill, and the vast burden of responsible and arduous work which weighed him down, it is necessary to make every possible allowance for his failure to take decisive action upon Bishop Colenso's heresies on the Eucharist, and the other subsequent developments in Natal, until circumstances forced him to do so.

Bishop Gray
too over-
burdened to
take strong
action
against
Bishop
Colenso.

We may well close this chapter with a letter from Dean Green, which shows him as a wise and tactful peace-maker—a side of his character which his enemies too often forgot to realise.

One of the judges of the Supreme Court of Natal had a bitter quarrel with the Colonial Treasurer, which, from the high position of the officials involved, and the pending reference of their disputes to a Court of Law, had disturbed the social peace of Maritzburg. The Dean felt that he owed a duty to both of them as Churchmen, and his mind at once led him

Letter from
Dean Green
as peace-
maker in a
personal
quarrel.

back to the days when the personal differences of Christians were settled by the arbitration of the Church. He wrote the following thoughtful and wise letter to each of the contending parties at the beginning of the year 1862.

"Excuse, I pray, my venturing to trouble you at a time when your thoughts are necessarily much occupied ; but hearing yesterday that the case is likely immediately to come on for trial, I cannot refrain from saying that no small number of your friends and fellow colonists feel no little sorrow, that two persons so high in position and so prominently before the public, should have to defend their character in a Court of Justice, and still more when we find that each has the other for an accuser. Gladly would we all hear that each had been mistaken, and with great regret will every one listen to much that will be brought forward in Court. When estrangement or misunderstanding has once arisen, causes of offence rapidly accumulate. The public—omitting of course those who feed on quarrels—but the calmly judging, will fix their attention chiefly upon the points on which you divided, rather than on later matter. Yet your legal advisers, according to their office, will accumulate all evidence they can collect. That, in such cases, often consists of letters and conversations—not between yourselves—but between one of you and third parties, and which, if the other be acquainted with, probably he ought to hasten to return to ignorance of.—This you, and many of us, will feel, but both lament that the Rules of Court require the Judge to receive the evidence presented, and that the practice of the Bar compels your Counsel to furnish it. Under the circumstances would it not be possible to remove the case from the Supreme Court, and submit it to arbitration? The Church is a Court, such that no rank would lose caste by pleading in it, and the Bishop, by his office, has the gift, or grace, of judgment. He, by our Lord, is appointed to judge between his brethren, and being also the minister of mercy, it would be no departure from the path of duty to reject much evidence, which the Queen's Court must receive. Even now I am sure,—and yet more, when excitement is over, and the hour of reflection comes—or that hour, when no consolation is sweeter than the conviction of having lived in charity with all men,—you will rejoice at having kept back or withdrawn everything against a brother that justice or honour could dispense with.

"Believe me, in trespassing upon you I am influenced by desire of peace among brethren, and of preserving to your soul peace—that peace which belongs to forbearance—to forgive—



JAMES GREEN, M.A.
DEAN OF MARITZBURG
(About the age of forty)

ness—to mercy : and gladly—if you will trust your honour to the care of the Church—would I assist to the utmost of my power to bring your difficulties to a righteous but merciful determination.”

The Dean's ideal of referring private and personal differences to the arbitration of the Church may seem to some minds impracticable. But this is only because the Church has failed to teach our modern civilisation the way of peace. The effort to revive lost and forgotten ideals of righteousness is the only pathway of true progress for the Church in her relations to the world.

CHAPTER V.

1861-1863.

Judgment of the Privy Council in the Long case, and its consequences—Bishop Colenso's *Commentary on the Romans*—His heretical views on our Lord's Person and work—Action of the Dean and Archdeacon Fearnce thereon—Bishop Colenso's reply to their letter—Its fundamental errors on the "Kenosis"—The Dean and Archdeacon present him to the Metropolitan—His reply—He refers the *Commentary* to Archbishop Sumner—Bishop Colenso's work on the *Pentateuch* creates alarm in England—Bishop Colenso in England—Archbishop Longley summons the Bishops, who call upon Bishop Colenso to resign his See—His refusal—Memorandum on his views—Archbishop Whately and Professor Maurice call upon him to resign.

WE have already seen that Bishop Colenso was busied with the Epistle to the Romans on the voyage out in 1854. He afterwards embodied his reflections in a *Commentary*, which was at first printed privately. On 2nd August, 1861, Bishop Colenso wrote to a friend on his *Commentary on the Romans*: "I fully expect that it will be violently attacked by High Church and Low. *I am not sure that Mr. Maurice will agree with it.* But this is not a time to care for things of this kind. The Bishops of Capetown and Grahamstown are both strongly opposed to me, and very probably will take some public action in the matter. However, as I now hope to be in England in the spring, I shall be able to defend myself in person, if necessary."

Bishop
Colenso's
Commentary
on the
Romans.

It alarms
Bishop
Cotterill.

This letter is noteworthy as recording that the Bishop of Grahamstown had taken alarm. Bishop Cotterill must have felt sorry for the unguarded manner in which he had encouraged the Bishop of Natal through his sympathy with Erastianism. His powerful legal mind bent its energies upon the situation, and he soon saw that the Erastian solution of the colonial Church problems of order and government meant anarchy and unrestrained heresy. The judgment of the Privy Council in the Long case was naturally a powerful factor in finally determining his change of view. Although this famous case did not touch directly upon Dean Green's personal career, it was of so

Judgment of
the Privy
Council in
the Long
case.

much importance that it must be briefly summarised. Mr. Long was the Incumbent of Mowbray near Capetown. He had been examined by Dean Green for Priest's Orders during Bishop Gray's first Visitation, and he was nearly rejected. His ordination at Grahamstown is recorded in the first chapter of this book. He was made by others the centre of opposition to Synodical action in the Cape Diocese, and the form of his recalcitrancy was a direct refusal to attend the Diocesan Synod, or to give notice of a meeting to elect a lay-representative. He was sentenced to three months' suspension by the Diocesan Court after trial for this offence. He appealed to the Supreme Court of the Cape Colony, and Bishop Gray conducted his suit in person, and won his case. Mr. Long's friends carried the case on appeal to the Privy Council, and the decision of the Supreme Court was reversed.

But the Privy Council Judgment defined the position of the Church in the Colonies in a manner which satisfied thoughtful men with legal minds, like Bishop Cotterill, that the figment of Royal supremacy, and the trammels of the union between Church and State in England, could not be imposed upon Churchmen in the Colonies. Bishop Gray's Letters Patent were intended to convey to him the powers of a Bishop of the Established Church, and the duty of administering the laws of the Established Church, as defined by Acts of Parliament and the decisions of secular Courts. The Privy Council in the Long case decided that the Letters Patent of a Colonial Bishop did not bring into any Colony which possessed a legislature of its own, the legal establishment of the Church of England. That Church could not legally exist *out of England*, as had been already laid down in the case "*Regina v. Eton College*." The judgment said: "The Church of England, in places where there is no Church established by law, is in the same situation with any other religious body, in no better, but in no worse position; and the members may adopt, as the members of any other communion may adopt, rules for enforcing discipline within their own body, which will be binding on those who expressly, or by implication, have assented to them." It proceeds to lay down a basis of contract for the discipline of the unestablished Churches of the Colonies. Their members can establish tribunals for discipline, whose judgments will bind those who assent to the Constitution and Canons framed by their Synods. The clergy and laity who assent to the rules of discipline framed by those Synods, and administered by the Church Courts which have been established by them, are in

It defines the position of the Church in the Colonies.

Quotation from the judgment.

Discipline of Churches not "established" to be on a basis of contract.

the position of ordinary citizens who have consented to a legal arbitration. The subject-matter of the arbitration, on which both parties are agreed, is beyond the purview of a Court of Law, if it is applied to for the purpose of civilly and legally enforcing the award of arbitrators. The Civil Power, in America, Scotland, and the Colonies, treats the decisions of the Ecclesiastical Courts of un-established Churches from the same point of view as it would treat the award of arbitrators. A priest has signed a document by which he consents to be bound by the Constitution and Canons of an un-established Church. This constitutes his contract, and is civilly equivalent to the act of parties signing a deed of submission to arbitration. If he does not carry out his contract, and resists the sentence of the Court of an un-established Church, he can be compelled to keep his contract by the Civil law. The Civil Court does not examine the case on its merits. All that lies within its scope is to inquire whether A, a priest, signed a contract agreeing to obey B, his Bishop, in administering, not his own *sic volo sic iubeo*, but the Constitutions and Canons of the un-established Church, which bind bishop and priest alike. The Civil Court will give legal effect in temporals to the decision of the Church Court in spirituals, without dealing with the spiritual questions upon which the Church Court has decided. This places the discipline of the un-established Churches upon a firm basis. Directly Bishop Cotterill grasped all this, he became a firm, loyal, and logical supporter of Bishop Gray's policy. This relation between the Church and the Civil power was carried into practical effect, with regard to the Scottish Episcopal Church, in the well-known case "*Forbes v. Eden*" in the House of Lords, which was quoted in the Supreme Court of Illinois in the case of "*Chase v. Cheney*" in 1871, where Mr. Cheney appealed to the Civil power against Bishop Chase of Chicago, for depriving him for wilfully omitting the word "regenerate" from the Baptismal Office. The Court held that it had no power to deal with a doctrinal question. It confined itself strictly to the question of *contract*. Had Mr. Cheney contracted to obey the Canons of the American Church, or not? It was proved that he *had* so contracted, and therefore the deprivation, pronounced against him by the Bishop of Chicago in his Diocesan Court, must be civilly enforced by his ejection from his Church and his Rectory. This was accordingly done; and these leading cases have governed the relations between the canonical Church Courts of unestablished Churches and the Civil Power ever since.

Case of
"*Forbes v.*
Eden".

Case of
"*Chase v.*"
Cheney.

We may conclude this reference to the Long case by observing that Dean Green did not think that the Metropolitan ought to have pleaded his cause in person before the Supreme Court. The Metropolitan replied that the only barrister available for his defence was a Jew, and that he thought it better to go into court himself. His ability in pleading his case won him the victory in the Supreme Court. But he relied on his "Letters Patent," which the Colonial Judges accepted as valid, and which the Privy Council rejected. Dean Green's letter on this subject is not extant, but it is believed to have warned the Metropolitan against reliance upon his "Letters Patent". The Privy Council, sitting as a Civil Court, decided that Mr. Long must be reinstated, *because he had not made a contract* with Bishop Gray to obey the rules of the Diocesan Synod.

We return now to the *Commentary on the Romans*. Bishop Colenso sent a copy of it to the Dean, and another to Archdeacon Fearne. He knew very well that his action in so doing was a challenge. Possibly he may have thought that the differences between Dean Green and Archdeacon Fearne were so pronounced that no joint-action on their part was possible.

Archdeacon Fearne was the successor of Archdeacon Mackenzie. He was originally sent out by Bishop Gray in 1853, before the Diocese was founded, to the Parish of Richmond, with a letter of commendation to Dean Green, as commissary for Natal. He was opposed to the Dean on the "Church Council" question, and took a leading part in support of the Bishop's unconstitutional Erastianism. His agreement with Dean Green in this matter, and consequent joint-action with him, is the more remarkable.

The Dean and Archdeacon Fearne sent the following joint letter to Bishop Colenso :—

" 25th October, 1861.

" TO THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF NATAL.

" MY LORD,

" Some weeks back you did us the honour to present us with copies of your new work upon S. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. The peculiar character of the doctrines therein set forth has made us slow in discharging the ordinary courtesy of acknowledging your gift; not knowing how to write.

" A careful examination of the book at length compels us to remember St. Paul's boldness when he thought others had erred, and earnestly pray your Lordship to let us forget for a

Bishop Colenso sends his *Commentary on the Romans* to Dean Green and Archdeacon Fearne.

Archdeacon Fearne's former opposition to the Dean.

His agreement with him on this subject expressed in a "Joint Letter" to Bishop Colenso.

moment your high office, and to see in you a fellow Christian for whom we exceedingly tremble. If, as Clergymen, we are your Lordship's Council, we should but ill discharge our office, if we aided you with advice where others are concerned, and left you in your own hour of trial to stand alone. We pray you, by remembrance of Him who asked His disciples to watch with Him one hour, to suffer us to minister to you, our head and Bishop.

"Amongst much which we think erroneous, that which is the chiefest source to us of grief and alarm is the doctrine put forth concerning the Cardinal Article of our Faith—our Blessed Lord's most precious Death. It is our persuasion, my Lord, that the great work which our Lord wrought for us on the Cross, so far as we can see into it, is realised by *adoration* rather than by *reasoning*. The Holy Ghost through many ages, by types, by prophecies, by rites, has taught us to look to the Cross, and instructed us to use language—the full meaning of which we are conscious we do not comprehend—and which we are persuaded also, is incapable of expressing the fullness of the truth. So, in addressing the Almighty Father, we accumulate word upon word, declaring that death to be *a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world*; seeking by many words to find utterance for our faith which has passed beyond the bounds of language, as, when we praise God for His Eternity, we speak of it as *from generation to generation and world without end*. An intelligent exposition of the mystery of that most precious Death, we are therefore more than prepared to find inadequate. It is of that we conceive your Lordship to complain, when you speak of a certain Modern Theology; but though we cannot expect to tread its depths, yet there are *certain marks* by which we can guide our steps, so far as we have grace to enter. *These*, my Lord, have aroused our fear that your Lordship's doctrine is not only *insufficient*, but that it is *out of the way*.

"In page 86 you say the very ground of our hope is to know that *a Man* in our nature, a perfect Man, a pure, loving, true-hearted Man, etc.—and in other like passages you speak of our Lord's Death as the death of *a Man*. We believe, my Lord, no *conception* nor *idea* of that Death is *allowable*, which does not embrace, however inexplicably, the *whole Being* of Christ Jesus. We may not contemplate Him as *a Man*, but as the GOD-MAN, hanging upon the Cross; so that our redemption was not purchased by *a Man* going down to the grave, as *we* must, but by the Precious Blood of God.

"There are many words in this and other passages which pain and alarm us, such as your Lordship's reasoning upon the ninth, tenth, and twelfth Articles of the Creed. So exceedingly do they alarm us, as to fill us with fear for your Lordship's soul. For ourselves, who, by our office in the Church, have such close communion with your Lordship, and for the Church over which you preside, we well know that the *head* cannot be sick, and the members not feel it. We pray you, therefore, most earnestly, to allow us, as men, and as clergymen, whose office should have taught them to watch, and know the signs of danger,—to entreat you to reconsider yet again those doctrines. That your Lordship has adopted them without much reflection, do not imagine that we suppose, and we know well how difficult it is—how at times it seems impossible—to unloose the mind from sentiments which it has cherished. But terrible is the danger of erring from the faith, for all our sakes. That there may be peace in the Diocese; that we may have confidence in one to whom we are bound to listen with all teachableness of spirit; we pray you openly to submit your doctrines to the Metropolitan, that the judgment of the Rulers of the Church may be had upon them. In conclusion we do assure your Lordship in all sincerity and truth, that we do pray, and will continue to do so, day by day, for your Lordship and for ourselves, that we may be led into the way of truth,

"Believe us to remain, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's obedient servants,

"JAMES GREEN, *Dean*.

"THOMAS G. FEARNE,

Archdeacon of Durban."

We note here, first of all, that the Dean and Archdeacon claim the right to advise the Bishop, as members of his "Council". This function of a Cathedral Chapter, now virtually lost to Chapters in the Church of England, has always been regarded as the chief *raison d'être* of South African Cathedral Chapters. They have more to do with the Diocese and its administration than they have with the Cathedral itself and its services, because all South African Cathedrals are also Parish Churches. A South African Dean is also Rector of the Cathedral Church and Parish. The statutory right of the Chapter to give advice to the Bishop, whether he asks for it or not, is preserved in all cases of urgency. When Bishop Colenso sent his *Commentary on the Romans* to the

Dean Green
and Arch-
deacon
Fearne
advised the
Bishop as
members of
the Chapter.

two senior members of his Cathedral Chapter, he could not expect them to receive it in silence.

Careful
theology of
the letter.

In the next place, we trace in this letter the careful and exact theology of the master mind of its chief author. It is no disparagement to Archdeacon Fearn to say that the Dean's cautious statements upon the mysterious subject of the Atonement were accepted and endorsed by his signature. The careful and reverent insistence on the limitations of human thought and language in dealing with our Lord's Atonement are in marked contrast with the hopelessly untheological crudities of Bishop Colenso's *Commentary*. Before quoting the Bishop's reply, it will be fair to him to gather the meaning of his *Commentary* from his own words, and from the summary of it published by Sir G. Cox, his friend and admirer, in Volume i. of his *Life*. The main idea of the Bishop was to overthrow the Calvinistic interpretation of the Epistle to the Romans. He had been brought up, as Sir G. Cox says, in the tenets of the "Clapham Sect," and in his younger days he doubtless heard more than enough of the crude Calvinism of the Evangelicals of the early "thirties".

The scope of
the *Com-
mentary* and
the views of
its Author.

He overthrew the Calvinistic conception of St. Paul's theology with little difficulty. But he pulled down with it the Catholic theology of St. Paul himself, and interpreted the Epistle to the Romans so as to contradict the whole essence of St. Paul's teaching. Bishop Colenso's first position, as against Calvinism, was the assertion of universal redemption. But to the truth that "Christ died for all," he added the distinct errors that all are therefore justified, sanctified, and saved at the last. Commenting on Romans v. 15-19, the Bishop says: "The justification here spoken of extends to all,—to those who have never heard the Name of Christ, and who cannot have exercised a living faith in Christ, *as well as to Christians*. It is certain that he is speaking of the whole human race." But it is evident, as Dr. Vaughan says (*in loc.*), that the Redemption embraces all, *though all may not embrace it*. These last words Bishop Colenso denied. He wrote to Bishop Gray on 7th August, 1861: "You have long been aware that I do not agree with those who hold what is called the Sacramental System, and that I regard their views as unscriptural and unsound". Accordingly we find in his *Commentary* that he denies the efficacy of Sacraments, and substitutes for the Catholic Church the human race, *as a whole*. Baptism is not the entrance gate into the Catholic Church, "We have already died unto sin, and risen again unto righteous-

His heresy on
Justification.

His heresy on
the Sacra-
ments.

ness *in our very birth hour*, through the gracious gift of God, by that mysterious union with Christ *which we all enjoy, as members of the great human family*" (*Commentary*, p. 114).

According to Bishop Colenso, there is no difference between a baptised and an unbaptised person, and Holy Baptism cannot be said to be "generally necessary to salvation". We have already traced the Bishop's heresies upon the Holy Eucharist. Suffice it to say that he repeats them on page 115 of his *Commentary*. He says that the "inward part" of the Blessed Sacrament is "the Body and Blood of Christ, which are given to us, *and to all the human race, not only in the sacrament, but at all times, and of which all men are everywhere partaking*, and so receiving all the life they have as *redeemed creatures*, whether they feed upon it by living faith or not, whether they know the precious gift of God's grace or not, whether they heed it, or disregard it".

On this basis the Emperor Nero and St. Paul the Apostle were to be regarded as equally devout communicants on the day of the Apostle's martyrdom. Such a perversion of anti-sacramentalism run wild has surely never been penned by any Christian Bishop before or since.

Bishop Colenso further stated his frank acceptance of His acceptance of "Universalism". Universalism. Not content with saying (p. 261), "I now declare that I can no longer maintain, or give utterance to the doctrine of the endlessness of future punishments," he further comments upon *the freedom of the creature from the bondage of corruption* as involving the ultimate salvation of every member of the human race. He says: "There is hope in the counsels of Infinite Love for *all*; for all the *creature*, for the *whole human race* that fell in Adam, and has been graciously redeemed in Christ. Is there not ground, from this text, for trusting that in some way unknown to us, the *whole race* shall be made to share this hope at last, and so be set free from the bondage of corruption?" These words are explained by a previous passage concerning "remedial punishment" after death. Bishop Colenso did not mean "purgatorial" punishment only. His view was that *all* punishment after death was "remedial," and that no punishment could be described as endless.

With regard to our Lord's Atonement, Bishop Colenso showed a crude dogmatism in marked contrast with the reverent humility of the statement by Dean Green, and Archdeacon Fearn. On page 93 he says: "Once for all let it be stated distinctly, there is not a single passage in the whole of

the New Testament which supports the dogma of modern theology that our Lord died for our sins, in the sense of dying instead of us, dying *in our place*, or dying so as to *bear* the *punishment* or *penalty* of our *sins*".

This statement is hopelessly confused, as well as openly heretical. Bishop Colenso had heard a coarsely stated and untrue doctrine of Substitution preached in the narrow Evangelical circles in which he had been brought up. But his negations land him even in a worse position than that of the perverted theology which he had heard in his younger days. His friend Sir G. Cox tells us that the true idea of "the blood of Christ" is to be found in a passage of Dean Stanley's *Christian Institutions* (p. 119), where he says that it means "the charity of God to man and the charity of men to each other". He regrets that Bishop Colenso did not make this more plain in his *Commentary*. But it must be remembered that there is a Catholic doctrine of "substitution" and "vicarious sacrifice," which is admirably expressed in Mr. Leighton Pullan's book *The Atonement* (p. 93 f.). Bishop Colenso repudiated the carefully guarded Catholic presentment of this doctrine; whereby the Love and Justice of the Father are brought into harmony, and where the destruction of sin, as well as the remission of its guilt, become equally the object and result of our Lord's Atonement; just as strongly as he did the Calvinist heresies in which he had been brought up. His view of Mankind as redeemed *en masse* led him gradually to Socinian doctrine on our Lord's Person. His view that our Lord was "a man," and not *the Man*, the Second Adam, the Perfect Man, Whose Personality is not that of a human individual, but of God the Word "who for us men was made Man," was Socinian *au fond*, though he may not as yet have realised it. In the light of these preliminary remarks we may realise better the meaning of his formal reply to the letter of the Dean and Archdeacon Fearne.

BISHOPSTOWE, 27th October, 1861.

"MY DEAR DEAN,

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of a letter addressed to me by yourself and Archdeacon Fearne on the subject of my book on the Epistle to the Romans.

"Had you confined yourselves to an expression of your own decided difference of views from those advanced in that book, I could not have objected to it, supposing you to feel so strongly on the points in question as to warrant so unusual a proceeding.

His defective
view of our
Lord's
Person.

Bishop
Colenso's
formal reply
to the letter
of the Dean
and Arch-
deacon
Fearne.

But when you go on to express fears for my soul, and to warn me how terrible is the danger of departing from the Faith, you must allow me to say that you have taken upon you the office of judging and condemning your Bishop, which the Church has not committed to you, and have overstepped, as on a former occasion, the bounds of Church order, and common propriety. But this is a very secondary matter. As you have read my book, and know what I have written on pp. 188-189, I need hardly say that with me it is a very small matter to be judged of man, or of man's judgment. The question with me is simply whether I have spoken the *truth*, as St. Paul taught it, and as God has granted me grace to see it. It is upon this, as I believe, that the salvation of my soul depends, as far as my book is concerned. As you cannot suppose me to be indifferent to my soul's salvation, you must well know that such expressions as you have used, can only be regarded by me as conventional phrases, which may be equally employed by any who thinks fit to do so, on both sides of the question. They are precisely such as Gardiner and others used towards Ridley and Latimer, or as an Inquisitor would have used, when condemning a victim to the stake for an *Auto da Fè*. I need hardly say that, with regard to the views expressed in my book, which are the result of many years' careful study and prayerful reading of the Scripture, I am not likely to be much affected by the mere expression of opinion on the part of two clergymen of my Diocese, both notoriously holding extreme views in opposite directions, and who have read my book so carelessly, or with so much of prejudice, that they have not perceived that the very page (p. 86) to which they refer me, contains a sentence directly opposed to the inference which they would draw from the context. I have said that our Lord's death was a true human death, the death of a true man, as the Scripture teaches. But I have nowhere said that it was the death of a *mere* man, and on p. 86 I have written, *He gave up the mortal life which He had taken for our sakes*;—words which involve the whole mystery of the Incarnation. I regret to find you both concur in using a phrase, which is not Scriptural—*the blood of God*. You are, of course, aware that the only passage—that in the Acts—which approaches in meaning to such language, is much disputed by the most orthodox commentators. It is, as you have been told before now by the Metropolitan, an objectionable practice to use such strong expressions without Scriptural authority; and in this case it would have a tendency to cherish the error of supposing that our Lord's

death was not truly human, as the Bible teaches. As I have no reason to suppose that the doctrines taught in my book are at variance with the teaching of the Bible, or go beyond the limits which our Church allows to its members—limits wide enough to include your own peculiar opinions,—I need scarcely say that I see no reason for submitting my book to the Metropolitan as you desire. Praying earnestly that the Father of all lights may enlighten by His spirit your minds and my own—may guide us to the knowledge of His Truth, and keep us in the bonds of charity ;

“I am, my dear Dean,

“Yours faithfully,

“J. W. NATAL.”

“Please to communicate this letter to Archdeacon Fearnē.”

Bishop
Colenso's
ignorance of
Theology.

The error
of his phrase
“mortal
life” as
applied to the
Incarnation.

Our Lord
became
“Perfect
Man”.

Bishop Colenso's letter shows that he did not understand the rudiments of Catholic theology. The passage of his book to which he refers in his defence contains the heretical expression “the *mortal* life which He had taken for our sakes.” This expression involves the error that our Lord became incarnate in the “mortal life” which is common to humanity after the Fall. The object of our Lord's birth of a Virgin was to cut off this entail. Bishop Colenso believed that our Lord shared the intellectual defects that have resulted from the Fall of man, when he subsequently stated that our Lord was “in error” with regard to His statements on the Old Testament. To say that our Lord took our “mortal life” is to deny that He was made Perfect Man with the perfection of Adam un-fallen, as the Second Adam, and the Head of redeemed Humanity. St. Thomas Aquinas (III. Q. 50) makes it plain that our Lord's death was a voluntary act, and not the consequence of His having taken the nature of Man. The phrase “mortal life” distinctly connotes the life of humanity after the Fall, when death became *penal*. Our Lord, as St. Athanasius says, was free from disease and the imperfections of fallen humanity. “The Reality of His Manhood as the Second Adam was manifest in His *perfection* of Body and Soul in the perfection of Adam's nature *before the Fall*,” as St. Augustine says, “De sursum venit Christus, id est, de *altitudine* naturæ humanæ, quam habuit ante peccatum primi hominis” (St. Aug. in Ioan, 3). He hungered, He thirsted, He sat weary by the well. But, as Perfect Man, it was not meet that the Lord should suffer disease, Who healed the diseases of others. Nor again was it fitting that the Body should be enfeebled by

infirmity in which He made strong the infirmities of others" (St. Ath. *De Incarn.*, c. xii. sec. 21).

In like manner we dare not limit the knowledge of our Lord's Human Soul save by the limits of the finite. Our Lord possessed all knowledge that the mind of the "Perfect Man" could contain. What intellectual damage the human race suffered from the Fall is beyond our knowledge. Neither can we limit the fulness of knowledge of the Mind of the "Perfect Man," save by the limits of the created mind. We must say, with Aquinas, that our Lord's human mind knew, by virtue of the Hypostatic Union of the Godhead and Manhood, "*omnia quæ sunt in potentia creaturæ*" (*Summa*, III., q. x., a. 2).

This teaching of the Catholic Church is well expressed by Hooker, V. liv. 7. It means that the fact of our Lord's having "emptied Himself—taking the form of a servant" (Phil. ii. 7), did *not* mean that He "emptied Himself" of the Perfection, mental and physical, of "the form of a servant". He took the "form of a servant" with a Perfect Body and Perfect Mind; a human mind filled with the Divine Omniscience, so far forth as that Omniscience could find expression and space in a human mind, and thereby filled with Perfect Knowledge of all things that have ever been, or ever will be, within the reach of a human mind. The Eternity of our Lord's human mind is a part of the Eternity of His Manhood, after "the Word was made Flesh". When our Lord increased in wisdom as well as in stature, we trace the process whereby His Mind as well as His Body attained the fulness of its growth. That fulness was attained when He entered upon His earthly ministry, and the human mind of our Lord was *then* as perfect, as a vehicle for the Divine Omniscience, as it is *now*. The Personality that found expression through our Lord's human mind was the "Ego" of God the Son, and therefore every statement of that Personality, which has been made through His human mind, is infallibly true. We deny the full truth of the Incarnation if we question the range, or the accuracy, of our Lord's knowledge, as Man, upon any subject whatever that is within the ken of the human intellect. We have no more right to question our Lord's knowledge, as Man, when He taught on earth, than we have to question the knowledge of His human mind, now that we adore him in Heaven.

Knowledge of
our Lord's
human mind.

True mean-
ing of
"Kenosis".

Our Lord is
an Infallible
Teacher.

Our Lord as
Man
possesses all
human
knowledge.

The Resurrection and Ascension cannot be viewed by Catholics as events which transformed our Lord's human mind from *imperfection* to *perfection*. The Resurrection and Ascension cannot be conceived as having caused Him to know more

Bishop
Colenso
ignored the
"Com-
municatio
idiomatum".

about the authority and genuineness of the Old Testament Scriptures than He knew on earth. What He said about them He said out of the fulness of His Personality, as God the Son, acting through His human mind. Any theory of our Lord's knowledge as Man, which would involve the quiescence of His Personality, as God the Son, during His earthly ministry, or, in other words, the *abandonment* of His Divine Attributes within the sphere of the Incarnation, introduces the heresy of denying the *immutability* of the Divine Nature. It involves a "kenosis" of the *Λόγος*—an invasion of the principle of the Immutability of the Godhead. This digression has seemed necessary to explain Bishop Colenso's imperfect views of the Incarnation, which eventually landed him in Socinianism. He had no grasp of the "communicatio idiomatum," which the Greek Fathers call the *κοινοποιήσις* or *ἀντιδόσις*, in dealing with the mystery of the union of the Godhead and Manhood in the One Person of God the Son.

His crude objection to the reference to Acts xx. 28, made by the Dean and Archdeacon Fearne, shows that he could not have realised that St. Paul's words to the Corinthians, "they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory" (1 Cor. ii. 8), form a true parallel to his address to the elders of Miletus (Acts xx. 28) where he speaks of "the Church of God which He purchased with His own Blood".

Notwithstanding Bishop Colenso's doubts thrown upon this passage, the Revisers of 1881 thought fit to retain it. But we trace here the germs of the heresy which subsequently caused Bishop Colenso to publish a Hymnal for use in his Diocese, in which every hymn which was addressed to Jesus Christ as God was deliberately expunged.

Our Lord's
death was a
voluntary act.

We may add here, with regard to the false supposition that our Lord took our mortal nature (as *inherently* mortal after the Fall), that as our Lord's death was voluntary, so also was His Resumption of Life. "No man taketh My life from Me. I have power to lay it down and I have power to take it again" (St. John x. 18). Canon Liddon's great sermon upon this passage is well worth studying (*Easter Sermons*, vol. i. p. 120). This power of demission and resumption takes our Lord's Death out of the category of an ordinary payment of the debt of our fallen nature. *Oblatus est quia ipse voluit.*

The Dean
and Arch-
deacon
Fearne
present him
to the Metro-
politan.

The Dean and Archdeacon Fearne decided to forward the correspondence on the subject of Bishop Colenso's *Commentary on the Romans* to the Metropolitan. The following letter accompanied it.

"TO THE MOST REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF CAPETOWN,
METROPOLITAN.

"Maritzburg, 1st November, 1861.

"MY LORD,

"Enclosed is a copy of a letter addressed by Archdeacon Fearné and myself to the Lord Bishop of Natal, and his Lordship's reply. The subject of the correspondence is one which has caused uneasiness and alarm throughout the Diocese. We do therefore most humbly pray your Lordship's advice and counsel how to act, not ourselves knowing what, in the probably imperfect organisation of this Province, may be the proper course for us to pursue, if we are right in our supposition that it is our duty, and endeavour to free ourselves, and the Church, from the influence of, or apparent implication in, the doctrines set forth in the book complained of, viz., *St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, newly translated, and explained from a missionary point of view by the Right Rev. J. W. Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal.*

"I remain, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's obedient servant,

"JAMES GREEN.

"Dean of Maritzburg."

It may here be noted that this letter was the last attempt on the part of Dean Green to call the attention of the Metropolitan to the heresies of Bishop Colenso. With the subsequent proceedings, which resulted in Bishop Colenso's trial, he had nothing to do. The Metropolitan replied as follows:—

Reply of the
Metropolitan.

"BISHOPSCOURT.

"14th November, 1861.

"MY DEAR DEAN,

"I have to acknowledge a joint letter from yourself and Archdeacon Fearné, inclosing a correspondence between the Bishop of Natal and yourselves, on the subject of his recent Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. I am free to confess that that work, though containing much that is earnest and excellent, has caused me no less pain and alarm than it has done to yourselves. Immediately upon the receipt of it, I wrote to the Bishop to intreat him not to publish it; and pointed out wherein I thought his teaching to be at variance with that of the Church in all ages, and of our own Branch of it in particular. Since the book has been published, I have, being unwilling to trust my own judgment in a matter of such

grave importance to the Church, and surrounded by so many difficulties, formally applied to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury to counsel me as to my duty with reference to it; and also requested his Grace to bring the subject before the Fathers of the Church at home. It would not, I think, be respectful to the Bishops whose counsel I have sought, under circumstances as new as they are distressing, if I were to do more at present than inform you of the course which I have thought it my duty to adopt. I shall not, however, fail to acquaint you with the nature of the reply which I may receive from his Grace. May I request that you will communicate the contents of this letter to Archdeacon Fearn?

"I am, my dear Dean,

"Faithfully yours,

"R. CAPETOWN."

"THE VERY REV. THE DEAN
OF MARITZBURG."

The Metropolitan's difficulties in bringing Bishop Colenso to trial.

The Metropolitan saw the seriousness of the situation, but did not know how to act. No Anglican Bishop had been tried, since the cases of Bishop Watson of Llandaff, who was deprived for simony by Archbishop Tenison of Canterbury in 1695; and the Bishop of Clogher, who was deposed and deprived for "a misdemeanor of a very heinous nature" by the Archbishop of Armagh in 1822. Bishop Cotterill was thoroughly alarmed by the *Commentary on the Romans*, and urged the Metropolitan to take action. On 12th November, 1861, the Metropolitan wrote as follows to Archbishop Sumner:—

The Metropolitan's letter to Archbishop Sumner.

"MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,

"It is with very great pain that I forward for your Grace's consideration a copy of a Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, recently published by the Bishop of Natal; and ask you to counsel me as to my duties and responsibilities in reference to it. The volume appears to me, I confess, amongst much that is excellent, to contain unsound opinions upon many points of deep importance, more especially with reference to the Inspiration of Holy Scripture, the doctrine of the Atonement, and Eternal Punishment. The questions which I desire to propose to your Grace, and through your Grace to the Bishops of your Province, are—*First*, Whether the Bishop's teaching is so erroneous as to make it a duty which the Church owes to her Lord and to her members to rid herself of the guilt of sharing it? *Secondly*, If so, in what way this should be done? Whether by synodical condemnation, or trial, or in

some other way? I think it right to forward to your Grace a copy of the correspondence which has already passed on the subject between the Bishop and myself, also a copy of the correspondence forwarded to me by the Dean of Pieter Maritzburg and Archdeacon Fearne . . . (*vide Bp. Gray's Life*, ii. p. 25). Your Grace will, I am sure, feel that in a matter of so grave a character, and, happily, so novel in our Church, I may be permitted to seek for counsel from the Fathers of the Church at home. Praying that God may guide us all into the truth, I am your Grace's faithful and obedient servant,

"R. CAPETOWN."

The Dean never expressed his views with regard to Bishop Gray's appeal to Archbishop Sumner. The Archbishop was a pious Evangelical, naturally inclined to Erastian views of the Church of England, as a national institution of a religious character, which was being much distracted by the ideals of Tractarianism. Lord Shaftesbury was nominating Protestant Bishops, through his influence over Lord Palmerston, who cared for none of these things, so long as the Church kept quiet. The Archbishop, and the dominant Protestant Erastians, could not bear the idea of being reminded that the Church of England was a part of a greater whole. They frankly repudiated any notion of historical Christianity in connection with the Church of England. The Tudor Acts of Uniformity and the Whig-Erastian settlement of 1688 were all the history they claimed for the Church of England. But the idea of an open attack upon the credibility of the Old Testament Scriptures, such as Bishop Colenso made in the first two parts of his work on the *Pentateuch*, which he published directly after his *Commentary on the Romans*, affected many Protestants so seriously that, for the time being, they forgot their Erastianism. Archbishop Sumner, however, did not deal with the "Pentateuch" controversy. Bishop Colenso landed in England in the summer of 1862. The Metropolitan had preceded him by a few weeks. The Bishops had met before he landed, and Archbishop Sumner wrote to him, telling him that the opinion of the Bishops condemned the *Commentary on the Romans*, and concluding with the words, "I am greatly struck with the mildness and conciliatory spirit which you have united with the firmness and decision exhibited in the whole of your distressing correspondence with the Bishop of Natal". Archbishop Sumner died in September 1862, and was succeeded by Archbishop Longley, who was a convinced Churchman, able

The Archbishop's ecclesiastical standpoint.

Protestants are alarmed at Bishop Colenso's views of the O.T.

Bishop Colenso's arrival in England.

Archbishop Longley succeeds Archbishop Sumner.

He summons
a meeting of
Bishops.

Bishop Tait
desires a
trial in South
Africa.

to see that the Church of England was no mere creature of the State. The Metropolitan began to see his way more clearly. The "Pentateuch" controversy alarmed persons who did not understand the Faith enough to see that Bishop Colenso's *Commentary on the Romans* was heretical. The S.P.G. formally asked the Archbishop of Canterbury for advice on the question of the Bishop of Natal continuing on the list of their Vice-Presidents. Archbishop Longley summoned the Bishops to meet for the purpose of considering what advice should be given to S.P.G. They met on 4th February, 1863. A resolution was carried that Bishop Colenso should be inhibited by the Bishops from officiating in their Dioceses. Twenty-five voted for this resolution and four against it. The inhibition was to be in force *pendente lite*, since Bishop Gray had informed the meeting that he was prepared to try Bishop Colenso for heresy in his own Province. Archbishop Longley stated that this was the only course to be followed. Bishop Tait of London waxed vehement against the South African Metropolitan when the Bishops met again on 7th February. He wished to know why the matter had been brought before the English Bishops at all, when it ought to have been dealt with in South Africa! Why had not the Bishop of Capetown as Metropolitan proceeded against Bishop Colenso? This was worth remembering, when Bishop Tait vehemently set at naught the Metropolitan's proceedings a few years afterwards, when his Erastianism had conquered his Protestant dislike to Bishop Colenso's heresies. The Bishops, however, ultimately drew up a joint letter, calling upon Bishop Colenso to resign.

The letter is as strong a document as could be expected from Bishops of the Established Church. It is noteworthy that it was drawn up by Bishop Tait.

Joint Letter
of the Arch-
bishops and
bishops
calling on
Bishop
Colenso to
resign his see.

"TO THE RIGHT REV. J. W. COLENZO, D.D.,
LORD BISHOP OF NATAL.

"We, the undersigned Archbishops and Bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland, address you with deep brotherly anxiety, as one who shares with us the grave responsibilities of the Episcopal office. It is impossible for us to enter here into argument with you as to your method of handling the Bible, which we believe to be the Word of God, and on the truth of which rest all our hopes for eternity. Nor do we here ask the question whether you are legally entitled to retain your present office and position in the Church ; complicated,

moreover, as that question is by the fact of your being a Bishop of the Church in South Africa, now at a distance from your Diocese and Province. But we feel bound to put before you another view of the case. We understand you to say (Part II. p. 23 of your *Pentateuch and Book of Joshua, Critically Examined*) that you do not now believe that which you voluntarily professed to believe as the indispensable condition of your being entrusted with your present office. We understand you also to say that you have entertained and have not abandoned the conviction that you could not, 'use the Ordination Service,' inasmuch as in it you 'must require from others a solemn declaration that they unfeignedly believe all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament,' which, with the evidence now before you, 'it is impossible wholly to believe in' (part i. p. 12). And we understand you further to intimate that those who think with you are precluded from using the Baptismal Service, and consequently (as we must infer) other Offices of the Prayer-Book, unless they omit all such passages as assume the truth of the Mosaic history (part ii. p. 22).

"Now it cannot have escaped you that the inconsistency between the office you hold and the opinions you avow is causing great pain and grievous scandal to the Church. And we solemnly ask you to consider once more, with the most serious attention, whether you can, without harm to your own conscience, retain your position, when you can no longer discharge its duties, or use the formularies to which you have subscribed. We will not abandon the hope that through earnest prayer and deeper study of God's Word you may, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, be restored to a state of belief in which you may be able with a clear conscience again to discharge the duties of your sacred office, a result which, from regard to your highest interests, we should welcome with unfeigned satisfaction.

"We are your faithful brethren in Christ,

"C. T. CANTUAR (LONGLEY).

"W. EBOR (THOMSON).

"M. G. ARMAGH (BERESFORD).

"R. DUBLIN (WHATELY).

"A. C. LONDON (TAIT).

"C. DUNELM (BARING).

"C. R. WINTON (SUMNER).

"H. EXETER (PHILPOTTS)."

"And the Bishops of Chichester, Lichfield, Ely, Oxford, St. Asaph, Manchester, Chester, Llandaff, Lincoln, Salisbury, Bath and Wells, Ripon, Norwich, Bangor, Rochester, Carlisle, Worcester, Sodor and Man, Meath, Tuam, Ossory and Ferns, Cashel, Down, Connor and Dromore, Derry and Raphoe, Cork, Kilmore, Montreal, Sydney, Tasmania, Jamaica, and Bishops Spencer and Chapman."

Bishop
Colenso
replies by a
refusal.

Bishop Colenso sent a distinct refusal to resign his See to Archbishop Longley, and complained to him of the lack of sympathy which he had met with from his Episcopal brethren. Bishop Colenso really imagined that he had the right to express any views he thought fit, regardless of any deference to the authority of the Catholic Church as a whole, so long as he could escape the wide meshes of the net of the Secular Court which dominated the faith and doctrine of the Church of England *quâ* State Establishment. Archbishop Longley sent to him the following dignified reply:—

"LAMBETH PALACE, 6th March, 1863.

Archbishop
Longley's
letter to
Bishop
Colenso.

"MY LORD,

"I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your answer to the Address of the Bishops, which I will cause to be forwarded to all the subscribers to that Address.

"In reference to your remark that, since your landing, not a single expression of sympathy or brotherly kindness from any of your episcopal brethren had reached you, I feel it due to myself to observe that I believe that the Bishop of Cape-town had intimated to you my willingness to hold an amicable conference with you on the painful subject of your publications; but I understood that you declined all such intercourse. Then I must in Christian candour and sincerity state that I did feel that the tone and spirit of your writings, irrespective of the matter, were such as rather to repel than invite friendly intercourse. I can with the greatest truth assure you that I feel very deeply for what I must consider your very unhappy position; and it will be my constant prayer that you may have grace to perceive the peril in which you stand, and retrace your steps before it be too late.

"I am, my Lord,

"Your faithful friend and brother in Christ,

"C. T. CANTUAR."

Bishop
Colenso's
self-satis-
faction.

Bishop Colenso, in replying, told the Archbishop that "he could not deem his position unhappy". The statement was doubtless true, for he had come to believe, as he subsequently

told an acquaintance of the writer of this book, that all the Archbishops and Bishops who did not agree with him were hopelessly in the wrong, and that he was the *only* Bishop who truly represented the *breadth* and *liberality* of the Church of England. Other people, besides Bishop Colenso, have suffered in the eyes of men from an overweening sense of their own infallibility. But when a definite break is made with the principle of authority in matters of religion, it is merely a question with minds of this class as to the length they will go in asserting the claims of their own private judgment. Bishop Colenso was by nature and training inclined to go very far indeed.

The following Memorandum, found amongst Dean Green's papers, may be a useful summary of his views.

Summary of
Dr. Colenso's
views and
opinions.

"This system which Bishop Colenso would substitute for that which has been held by the whole Christian Church, since the first coming of our Lord, is :—

"(I.) That the Bible is not, as a whole, the word of GOD (see *Pentateuch*, part 2, pages 380, 381, 382, 383. Part 3, Pref. p. xxviii). That 'every living man' is to judge for himself by 'the voice which he hears within,' which is 'the voice of his Lord,' 'the light of the Divine Word'; whether any, or what portion of the Scriptures are the word of GOD; thereby setting his own spiritual perceptions above the Revelation of 'GOD's word written':—That by that light the words 'recorded to have been uttered by our Lord Himself must all be tried' (see *Pentateuch*, Part 3, pp. 628, 629. Part 4, p. 297. Part 1, p. 152).

"(II.) That 'GOD manifest in the flesh,'—the everlasting Son of the Father, GOD of GOD, Light of Light, Very GOD of Very GOD, Who came down from heaven, and took our nature into the Godhead,—was ignorant and in error (see *Pentateuch*, part 1, pref. pp. xxx, xxxi. Part 3, pp. 622, 623).

"(III.) That all that is needed to make the Jew, who still believes our Lord to be a deceiver and an impostor, a 'herald of salvation' with the ministers of Christ, is, that he should 'shake off the superstitious belief of ages,' and 'give up the story of the Pentateuch'; *i.e.*, that the pure Deism which he would then hold and teach, would be the only truth needed to be taught for man's salvation (see *Pentateuch*, part 2, p. 384).

"(IV.) That the Creeds of Christendom,—The Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds,—which embody, affirm, define, the Faith of Christ, as held and taught by the Church from

the beginning,—together with other formularies of the Church, which she requires to be subscribed by all her Clergy, and which are a chief security to the Laity that the true faith of Christ shall be ever taught in our Churches,—are ‘antiquated,’ ‘worn out,’ ‘formulae of by-gone days,’ which it would be well for us to set aside (see *Pentateuch*, part 2, pref. pp. xxv, xxvi, xxvii, xxviii, xxx, note, xxxi, xxxiv, xxxv; part 4, pref. xiii, xxxiv, xxxv; Remarks, pp. 14, 15).

“(V.) That the language ‘attributed to our Lord Himself in the New Testament,’ need not be received by us, because he was apparently much influenced by a spurious Apocryphal work, especially on such subjects as ‘the Judgment of the last Day’ (see *Pentateuch*, part 4, pp. 314 and note, 317 notes, 319 notes, 320, 321 notes, 323, 325, 326, 327).

“(VI.) That ‘the old Traditionary System’—that is the Church’s faith, which has hitherto been received as Divine for well-nigh 2,000 years, is passing away to make room for a new faith;—that like the Jewish before it, it was ‘a schoolmaster’ to lead us to some deeper, higher, truer religion; and that the time has arrived for its abandonment. That we are passing ‘through a transition state’. That the Christ of history (unless I wholly mistake his meaning) who came into the world to die for our salvation, and rose, and ascended into Heaven, there ever to appear in the presence of GOD for us, is to be no longer our Christ, but is to make way for ‘the Christ that is to be’ (see *Pentateuch*, part 2, pp. 355, 371; Letter to Laity, p. 28). Is it too much to say that what Dr. Colenso has taught is a new religion,—a substitution of something else for the existing Christianity of the world? It is this: and yet at the same time merely a return to the Deism of the higher minds of the Heathen world before the coming of Christ.”

This summary of Dr. Colenso’s views is exceedingly plain and clear. He ultimately carried his faulty premises to still more faulty conclusions. He got so far from the Catholic Faith as to identify what he called “orthodox Christianity” with “solar worship”.

Dealing with Sir G. Cox’s book on *Aryan Mythology* he wrote the following words: “We want some one to say boldly that *sun-worship* is at the basis of popular Christianity (I do not say of Christianity as Christ taught it). I am certain it would be a most interesting and instructive study if somebody would pursue thoroughly the connection between the ancient *solar worship* and *Church* Christianity, of which Romanism and orthodox Protestantism are only different developments”

Sun-worship
the basis of
popular
Christianity.

(*Life of Bishop Colenso*, vol. ii. p. 234). The certitude of his own private judgment led him to dogmatise as follows: "On the Sabbath question I take new ground, namely that the Fourth Commandment was never binding on anybody, for it was neither Divine, nor even Mosaic. There is no ground for supposing that the adoption of the Christian Sunday, in place of the Jewish Sabbath, rests upon Apostolical authority" (*Life*, vol. ii. pp. 20 and 92). His method of stating his views on the Old Testament was disgusting to Professor Maurice, who was inclined to stand by him as a personal friend. Mr. Maurice wrote to Mr. Llewellyn Davies that, "the pain which Colenso's book has caused me is more than I can tell you. I used nearly your words, *It is the most purely negative criticism that I ever read*, in writing to him. Our correspondence has been frequent, but perfectly unavailing. He seems to imagine himself a great critic and discoverer, and I am afraid he has met with encouragement that will do him unspeakable mischief. He even threw out the notion that the Pentateuch might be a poem, and when I said that to a person who had ever asked himself what a poem is the notion was simply ridiculous, he showed that his idea of poetry was that it is something which is not historical. And his idea of history is that it is a branch of arithmetic."

His view of the Lord's Day.

Professor Maurice's view of Colenso's book.

Writing again to Mr. Clark, Mr. Maurice expresses himself yet more strongly: "You know of course this business of Colenso. You know how he had identified himself with me, and how great a struggle it must be to me to disclaim him, especially when he is putting himself to great risk. Yet I think him so utterly wrong that I must do it at all risks to him or me." On 6th September, 1862, Mr. Maurice saw Bishop Colenso, and said to him, "Well, I think the consciences of Englishmen will be very strongly impressed with the feeling that you ought to resign your Bishopric" (*Life of Maurice*, vol. ii. pp. 422-24).

He calls on Dr. Colenso to resign.

It will be seen that Mr. Maurice sympathised with the address from the Bishops with regard to Bishop Colenso's resignation.

It has been already stated that the views expressed by Bishop Colenso tended towards Socinianism. In 1866, he wrote to the *Times* deprecating the worship of our Blessed Lord in the public services of the Church, and he had the audacity to state that "the whole spirit and the general practice of our Liturgy manifestly tend to discourage such worship and prayer. It appears that the practice in question is not based

Dr. Colenso's tendency towards Socinianism.

His denial that prayer and praise should be addressed to our Lord.

He attacks
*Hymns,
Ancient and
Modern* for
this reason.

on any Scriptural or Apostolical Authority, but is the development of a later age—chiefly, as I believe, through the use of unauthorised hymns.” He attacked *Hymns, Ancient and Modern* on these grounds.

Publishes a
Hymnal
which
eliminates all
worship of
our Lord.

Sir G. Cox on
his general
teaching.

“The whole book,” he says, “overflows with words of prayer and praise, directly addressed to Jesus, such as find no example or warrant in the lessons of our Lord Himself, nor in the language of His Apostles” (*Natal Sermons*, ii. p. 150). Writing to Miss Cobbe on *Hymns, Ancient and Modern*, he says: “It would be *impossible* for me to preach such sermons as I am preaching every Sunday, *and have the people singing those hymns in my face*”. The testimony of *Hymns, Ancient and Modern* to the worship of our Lord as “God manifest in the flesh” is very clearly brought out by Dr. Colenso’s criticisms; which also explain the reason for his publishing a Hymnal for use in Natal from which all hymns, expressing worship of our Lord as God, were carefully expunged. The whole subject of the worship of our Lord and Dr. Colenso’s attack upon it is fully dealt with in Note G (p. 531) of Dr. Liddon’s *Bampton Lectures*. Sir G. Cox anticipated Loisy and the Modernists in his outspoken praise of Dr. Colenso’s teaching. “Nowhere in his writings,” says his biographer, “can we find any phrases that lay stress on mere *outward incidents*, or make the spiritual truth dependent on historical facts, or rather records of them which may be more or less uncertain” (*Life*, ii. p. 78). By this is meant that the Gospel history may be treated as un-historic so far as what he calls “spiritual truth” is concerned, and the Creeds must be given up as “the deadening changes which, from the close of the Apostolic age, overlaid the good news of Christ with a network of iron formulas put forth as living principles” (*ib.*, p. 74).

Denies the
personality of
Satan.

It may be said that Sir G. Cox’s opinions are *nihil ad rem*. But the Bishop accepted him as an interpreter of his ideas, and the Natal Erastians subsequently elected him as their Bishop. He is therefore a minor personage in the history of these great controversies. Bishop Colenso utterly rejected the Scriptural and Catholic doctrine of a personal Satan. “A will, or spirit, so malignant as to hate God, as God, . . . such a being as this is utterly inconceivable amidst the extended knowledge, and the sounder thought and reasoning of the present day. . . . The thought of a creature of God, set apart for hopeless wickedness and misery, and an object worthy of hatred, is fraught with danger to the soul that entertains it” (*Natal*

Sermons, i. 278, and ii. 17). These quotations show the extraordinary perversion of the preacher's mind, and prove that he had not escaped from the vulgar dilemma, "Why did God create the devil, and why does He allow him to exist?"

It is the old *Unde malum et quare?* in another form. The difficulty of the origin of evil, is really the difficulty of the freedom of the created will. To deny the personality of Satan and his hosts, is to deny the possibility of rebellion by created intelligences, endowed with free will, against God, and the further fact of their continued existence in an active state of rebellion. This rebellion is possible for fallen men and fallen angels, not only by the witness of the Bible and the Church, but in the open pages of human life and history, which a false theological Liberalism is perpetually misreading. But the opinions of Bishop Colenso were not marked by originality. They have been common enough outside the Church, and they possessed at the time a certain fictitious interest from the fact of their being promulgated by a Bishop in an extremely crude and provocative manner. Archbishop Whately of Dublin was utterly hostile to historical Christianity, as set forth in the ordered ideals of the Catholic Church. But even he was provoked to write to Dr. Colenso, after receiving part i. of the *Pentateuch*, "I suppose you will now leave the Church" (*Life*, vol. ii. p. 180). We may best sum up Bishop Colenso's views on the *Pentateuch* by quoting his words, given by his biographer on page 265 of volume ii. of his *Life*. "I grant the difficulties of *unbelief* in a personal God, Creator of all things . . . must be for most minds, certainly for mine, insuperable. But the difficulty of belief in the traditionary system is the very fact that it makes a belief in such a Being *impossible* to mere intelligent reasoning men. Who can in these days believe in the stories of the Creation, the Fall, and the Deluge? Why do not intelligent men—laymen, clergy, and Bishops, admit the absurdity of teaching any longer such old wives' fables—or rather the sinfulness of teaching such *lies in the Name of the Lord*, whatever else they may hesitate to admit?" This disclosure is plain enough.

Archbishop
Whately
thinks he
should resign.

His crude
views on the
Pentateuch.

CHAPTER VI.

1863-1865.

Doubts as to the proper method of trying Bishop Colenso—The Dean's letter to Canon Callaway, dissuading the Natal clergy from any further Presentment of Bishop Colenso—He foresees a civil-law triumph for Bishop Colenso—The Dean's letter to Dean Douglas of Capetown—His letter to the Metropolitan, urging the Bishops to take action—The Dean's second letter to the Metropolitan—The S.P.G. appoint the Dean to administer their Natal Grant, instead of Bishop Colenso—Bishop Tait's protest against the action of S.P.G.

THE last chapter dealt fully with the strange perversions of the Catholic Faith which were the result of the unassisted mind of the Bishop of Natal.

The heresies of Dr. Colenso were a side-issue in the conflict with Erastianism.

Dean Green saw the true issues.

It will not be necessary to recur to the subject of Bishop Colenso's opinions. The heresies to which he had committed himself rendered him unfit personally to discharge his office, and imperilled his own soul. But the administration of ecclesiastical discipline in judging and deposing him as a heretic was but a single issue in the great conflict waged in South Africa against the Royal supremacy, and its Protestant-Erastian application to the Colonial Church. Bishop Colenso first wounded the Church, and then wounded himself. The wound he inflicted on the Church by the constitution of his Church Council, brought about a conflict of fundamental principles of Church life and order, which had far-reaching issues. The wound he inflicted upon himself was a personal matter, and though it loomed larger before the world, it was not really so serious an issue as the conflict of principles which survived it. Dean Green saw this plainly, and kept the main issues before him when others lost their heads. To him it was evident that action should have been taken by the Metropolitan upon the earlier questions which had been brought to his notice. Action taken subsequently, upon the crest of a wave of popular indignation in England against Bishop Colenso's attack on the Old Testament, was very likely to get on wrong lines. Erastian Protestants, like Bishop

Tait of London, might spur the Metropolitan on to take action, not because they valued the due order of the Church, or because they believed that a Metropolitan might lawfully try one of his Suffragan Bishops, but because the public conscience was shocked, and *something must be done*. The Bishops of England wanted something done. But they did not in the least agree as to how Bishop Gray was to proceed. Dean Green foresaw events very clearly. He knew very well that Dr. Colenso would repudiate the authority of the Metropolitan on purely Erastian grounds. There were two courses open to Bishop Gray. One was to act absolutely upon his Metropolitan Jurisdiction, and its inherent rights, without appealing to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of England for advice. The other course was to secure beforehand, from the Archbishop of Canterbury and the joint action of the English Episcopate, a definite line of action to be pursued with regard to Bishop Colenso. This would have left the full responsibility upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Metropolitan, in trying his suffragan, would have been carrying out the policy of his "Patriarch". But it seems that neither course was actually carried out in its entirety. The English Bishops were too entangled in Erastianism to take up any definite line, and the powerful opposition of Bishop Tait of London and Bishop Thirlwall of St. David's to any distinct action on the part of the Church, coupled with the desire of the Evangelicals to condemn Dr. Colenso's heresies without supporting Bishop Gray's metropolitan rights, made his position perplexing indeed. It was difficult to assert his full rights as Metropolitan in 1863, when he had not done so in 1858.

But he faced his difficulties with increasing boldness, even when he found his Letters Patent declared invalid in the Long case, and when he realised, as he was forced to do by events, the truth of the old adage "*Episcopi Anglicani semper pavidī*".

When he made up his mind to comply with Bishop Tait's advice, and bring Bishop Colenso to trial, he thought that Dean Green and the Natal clergy should promote the suit. The Dean did not think so, and the following remarkable series of letters from him show his reasons. He had formally presented his Bishop already for his sermons on the Eucharist and his *Commentary on the Romans*. But no action had been taken of any definite character. Bishop Colenso was absent from Natal and his return was indefinite. The mischief of his heretical preaching in the Cathedral had ceased. His books were before the world. They were openly published, and con-

Two courses
open to the
Metropolitan.

Neither
carried out
entirely.

The Dean
declines to
promote the
case against
his Bishop.

cerned the Diocese of London as much as they did the Diocese of Natal. The Dean judged wisely in the light of after events in declining to be the prosecutor of his Diocesan in the Court of the Metropolitan. His first letter was written to Canon Callaway, who had opposed the Dean on the Church Council question, but was now seriously alarmed by the Bishop's work on the Pentateuch.

His letter to
Canon
Callaway.

"MARITZBURG,
"22nd January, 1863.

"MY DEAR DOCTOR,

"Many thanks for sending me for perusal a copy of the Bishop's sad book. I had not received one from England. It is of course purchased out of curiosity, and being addressed *ad populum* will have many readers.

"With regard to our duty and that of others in the matter, there is need that our conceptions be clear, and that we be not over-hasty ;—one thing at least is certain, that it is our duty to pray for the Bishop's conversion, and for a right judgment to be vouchsafed to the Metropolitan, and for ourselves too. The observation of one to me was that the Bishop's opinions were the result of a priest studying the Holy Scriptures without prayer. He neglected the assembling of ourselves together as the Church has appointed us, and his sight has grown dim. Nothing, too, that we can do will be with power, unless sanctified by prayer.

"I. Now, as a rule to be observed, it is not the duty of an inferior to complain of his superior. *Exception.* When the conduct of our superior is, in our judgment, decidedly injurious to the common weal, but cannot be known without our furnishing information: *e.g.* Church-wardens may inform a Bishop of conduct, or language of a clergyman in church, but, doing so, they thereby constitute themselves his superior, and great jealousy is rightly felt of their so doing. I do not blame those who felt suspicious of Jenkins and myself for presenting the Bishop. But we thought the Bishop was feeding the Church with poison, and it would not be known but through us ; so we spoke. But to do so needlessly is a breach of the fifth commandment. A wife and child are excused and respected for not believing in the guilt of a husband or father ; so I hold the Metropolitan should not look to us to accuse, but rather restrain us. A father's duty is to correct a son, but he will not allow one brother to accuse another, and if we are startled by the awful exception made in Deut. xiii. 6, the limitation of *secretly* is there inferred, and this book is not

secretly circulated, nor its doctrines secretly promulgated; indeed the Bishop has forborne in this case sending us copies, because, as he has put it on record in a letter to Rivett, he does not wish to influence us. I consider therefore that we ought not to present. The Bishop of Salisbury brought Dr. Williams to trial *sua sponte* (not moved thereto by the Diocese); so also the Bishop of Winchester in the case of my friend Heath: the same was the case in 'the Bishop of Capetown *v.* Long.'

"II. But again, should nothing be done by the Metropolitan, it may be asked, are we to go on communicating with the Bishop? Are we not to take some stand? I answer, the hour has not come to decide such questions, and may never come in God's Providence. We are relieved from that at present. The Bishop is not amongst us teaching or worshipping with us.

"III. It may be argued that we should strengthen the Metropolitan's hands by addressing him,—expressing our pain and distress; but I should object to doing this, even (at least) *collectively*.

"Heresy never was cast out of the Church without pain and suffering, nor, in many cases, without its seeming to prevail for a season. *It shall bruise thy head, thou shalt bruise His heel.* Are we, one and all, prepared for this? For the Bishop to triumph for a time, and we each to suffer in some unexpected way? Or, seeing that we pray, *lead us not into temptation*, is it not the duty of one Christian towards another,—and therefore of the Metropolitan towards all here,—not to expose us to trial? *He* must drink of this cup; for this cause came he to this hour. He has been made Bishop and Metropolitan for this end. But it seems to me far from the hour for Tonnesen, Baugh, Barker, and Rivett to be in the forefront of the battle. They are young and inexperienced, and have been ordained Priests by the Bishop, since the publication of his *Commentary*, and I cannot see how—if they have sought a gift from his hands—have submitted to his Examination, and accepted his *Testamur* of their fitness, they can with any propriety turn against him. So far as we can, we ought to shield them. Are they so learned in doctrine, so versed in Canon Law, as to feel confidence in themselves? Will they not waver and falter, now move forward and again draw back, if afflicted by it? [*I.e. the Bishop's future action towards them.*—A.T.W.]

"No document would be signed by all the Clergy. I know of some certainly who, on one ground or another, would decline. It would then become a document signed by individuals

only, and nothing beyond that should be attempted, unless by the Chapter. Amongst the Clergy, we are the elders. To some extent the charge of a Diocese falls upon the Chapter, in the case of the death of the Bishop or some such emergency. There is, in that manner, a precedent for our acting as guardians of the other Clergy. The Bishop of Capetown will not most probably be back before April. In the meantime he asks me to beg you to excuse his answering your letters. He has not forgotten them, but is overwhelmed with work, so there will be time to think every point well and carefully over.

“Believe me, my dear Doctor,

“Yours faithfully,

“JAMES GREEN.”

The Dean's wisdom in deprecating action on the part of the Natal clergy.

The Dean's letter showed his grasp of the situation. Bishop Colenso had left the question of his return to his Diocese an open one, and the chief mischief in Natal, namely his heretical sermons in the Cathedral, had ceased. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the English Bishops had been formally consulted by the Metropolitan, and the books published by Bishop Colenso were before the world. The Dean justly deprecated the invitation to the Natal clergy to sign a joint document on which to found proceedings. He saw that it was unnecessary, and his view ultimately prevailed. He rightly gauged the capacity of the Natal clergy for resistance, and saw that it would be unfair to subject the younger men to a strain which some of them had no courage to bear.

He foresaw a legal triumph for Bishop Colenso.

He foresaw the course of events, and realised that the Bishop would have a temporary legal triumph, which would entail sufferings upon the loyal clergy. He knew very well that the Erastians, who were temporarily alarmed by Bishop Colenso's attack upon the Bible, would not stand fast in the future contingency of the Church delivering a spiritual sentence, which the State would not recognise. Most people in the Dean's position would have found it difficult to avoid reminding Canon Callaway that he had supported Bishop Colenso in the “Church Council” controversy in a specially offensive way. He had been one of the persons who signed that most uncharitable and bitter report of the Committee on Dean Green and those who acted with him, which has already been dealt with in the previous chapter. The Dean's letter to Canon Callaway shows the greatness of his Christian gentleness and forbearance in a personal question wherein he might justly have shown resentment. But there is not a word in the letter

His brotherly treatment of Canon Callaway.

which indicates personal feeling. The Dean desired to show Canon Callaway the more excellent way. This gentleness, mingled with iron firmness in defending real principles, was the chief source of the Dean's power. Canon Callaway learnt, like Bishop Cotterill, what the Church really meant. When, in after years, he became the first Bishop of St. John's, there was no more strenuous supporter of the liberty of the Church against Erastianism than he was. The writer well remembers how strong a line he took about the third Proviso question in the Provincial Synod of 1883. The Dean of Capetown (afterwards Bishop Douglas of Bombay) had forwarded to Dean Green an address of sympathy from the Capetown clergy. The Dean replied as follows :—

“ MARITZBURG, 4th February, 1863.

Dean Green's
letter to Dean
Douglas of
Capetown.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ Your letter filled me with more comfort than I can describe. It spoke of sympathy and assistance most precious to those whom it has pleased God to try so long. Though I have communicated with some of the other clergy, there has not been sufficient time to collect their sentiments ; but as you spoke of re-assembling in February, I could not let this mail leave without asking you to express to the members of your Ruri-decanal Chapter, how grateful I am, and I am sure I may add others are, for their sympathy. Such an address as you propose to the Metropolitan many of us would gladly join in. It appears, however, that you contemplate the probability of some here presenting the Bishop of Natal ; and, from some English correspondents on whom I can rely, I gather that the Bishops of South Africa must form the Court, before which his Lordship can alone, in the first instance, be tried, and that the office of the Judge must be promoted by some of the Clergy. My correspondent also gave me to understand that I might expect assistance from England in preparing charges, etc., and that you would also be informed that such was looked upon as the necessary course. I, therefore, considering the distance which separates us, think it well to assume that you have heard as much, and give you my present views—I say *present*, for I feel the need of yielding, if necessary, my judgment on many points for the sake of promoting unity. My judgment then, after, I may say, many weeks' reflection, is *not to present the Bishop*. I did so on one occasion, when he preached what I held to be heresy ; for unless informed of it by us, the Metropolitan would not have known of it. And we were, in

this position, bound to listen with all teachableness of spirit. If we *did*, we would err from the Faith; or if we closed our ears, there was great danger of becoming men dull of hearing. These books, however, affect us far less than the preaching we have been accustomed to. Many never see them, and those who do, do not feel that he speaks in them with the same authority as from the pulpit. I think therefore it would not be preserving the due proportion of things to hear, as I have done of late, *sermons* in silence, and to complain of a *book*, published in London. Again, the Metropolitan has the book as well as we. The late cases are cited to me as guides. But the Bishop of Salisbury had jurisdiction over Dr. Williams, and, instead of exercising it, moved the Archbishop's Court to act,—the same in the case of the Bishop of Winchester and Heath. But most certainly *I* have no jurisdiction; the parallel therefore fails. Neither do I see how, by stepping forward, I can relieve those who *have*. For suppose I undertake the case, and break down, will that in any way relieve the Bishops, who, by the third Question put to them at their Consecration, engaged to *withstand* and convince gainsayers? The Metropolitan, by his Letters Patent, is required to visit this Diocese. That involves instituting inquiries and framing Articles of Visitation, not simply hearing the complaints of others. I may be wrong, but I think the responsibility is upon the Bishops. *They* at their Consecration took it upon them, and must act; whereas we priests, I think, would be rather assuming power. Painful undoubtedly it is for them, but if it be their duty, they can only say with our Lord, *for this cause came I to this hour*. In the cases referred to there was no strain upon the fifth commandment, for in them the superior took action against the inferior—an exception is made in Deuteronomy xiii. 6, but there is the condition of *secretly*. The teaching *ex cathedra* might be called *secret*, as the Metropolitan could not know of it unless informed of it. But there is nothing secret in a published book. Whatever difficulties may gather round the paths of the Bishops, at no step can they be so trying to the soul as ours must be. They have *one* duty, and *one* only, however difficult to fulfil. We have *two*, which through sins clash. We have to be jealous for the truth, and to listen to our Bishop. If we attempt to move the least, we seem to offend against one or other of these duties. I think therefore that the Metropolitan should impose *silence* upon us, particularly as Dr. Colenso is not our Bishop only, but he is oftentimes very generous, and has perhaps placed

most of us under obligations to him. Several quite recently have sought and obtained priest's orders at his hands, a very close act of communion. It is for our good to be treated as plague stricken (for there can be no ground for alarm as to the effect the book may have, if *we* have not suffered). One and all of us, Clergy and laity, for our souls' health, should feel that the Church looks with doubt upon us, and that we have no right to be in the forefront. In all this I am only uttering my own sentiments. My brethren may think differently. But I thought you might like to know my sentiments, and you are quite at liberty to make them known to any one interested in the matter.

"Yours faithfully,
"JAMES GREEN."

The Dean's reasons for standing aside personally at this stage of the proceedings, and his view that the Diocese should take no overt action, were clearly expressed in the following letter to the Metropolitan.

The Dean's
letter to the
Metropolitan.

"MARITZBURG,
"March 4th, 1863.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"The matter of our Bishop you may be sure occupies my most earnest thoughts, and at the risk of being tedious I will write at length, for, as you say, difficulties without number are before us. Therefore let us take counsel.

"Now to have the Grace of God go with us, we must be thoroughly real and true. If then we hold that the health of the Bishop's soul, and the safety of the Church, require that he should be suspended, can we regard those who have been in close communion with him, and in their several degrees partakers with him, as men whose souls need no healing medicines, or whom the Church need not fear? Surely not.

"Take then the case of those who have been recently ordained by him, receiving his *testamur* as to their soundness in the Faith. I have seen many lightly ordained, but never without manifest injury to them. The examination of these men was either a mere form, or they have the taint of heresy upon them. In either case it is for their soul's health, and may make them feel the responsibility belonging to their office, if the Church shows herself in doubt of them.

"Or take those who joined the Bishop in his sad attack upon the Priesthood and Holy Scripture by means of the 'Church Council'; *of which the present matter is only a develop-*

ment. Is it charity, because the disease has not mastered them so completely as it has the Bishop, to treat them as sound? It would surely be light and unseemly conduct, *because the cry of the Church has gone up against the Bishop*, for those who consciously and avowedly assisted him, to turn round and come forth to accuse him of heresy. When they see him cut off, if only in measure, from the Church, they ought to remember that they have not only drunk of the poison, but given it to others; and, if they come to the Metropolitan, it must not be as accusers of the Bishop, but to ask you, as penitents, how they may purify themselves.

"Again, take those who have been his close and intimate companions. What becomes of the doctrine of communion, as an article of our Faith, if they have not inhaled poison? The world boastfully says, I can read and not be hurt. The Scriptures say, Evil communications corrupt good manners.

"I ask for no censure on class or individual, nothing that can irritate, nor again anything that can make men forget their own danger, or confirm the Bishop in his opinion that multitudes of Clergy have no faith, by showing him *the same men* at one moment his active supporters, and then, *when the tide turns*, leaders against him. Moreover, the Church must recognise her own unity. The Bishop is our head; he is one with us, and we with him; his spirit pervades and informs his Diocese: is it not always so? If the head then be so sick as to need strong remedies, can there be soundness in the members? The view that *we* should come forward and protest against the false teaching of our Bishop I should concur in, *as suitable in 1854*. Had we then, at the end of his '*Ten Weeks*' visit, refused to receive him, as his heresy was in every man's mouth, it would have been well. But that hour is passed. We have since, by acts and subscriptions, and in various ways, so interlaced and intertwined ourselves with the Bishop's views, that with little difficulty he could prove one or other, in one respect or other, partakers in the evil. It may be humiliating to be treated as plague-stricken, but it is necessary. Nothing else will teach many to know their danger. Those whose pride would most revolt against it, most need it. The Bishop must not be regarded as an isolated individual. The cancer has spread beyond him, and grievous harm, harm affecting them through eternity, may be done to individuals by treating them as sound, when perhaps sick nigh unto death. You, at a distance, cannot know the state of individuals. For us, who are here, to particularise would be hurtful, and there-

fore I ask that we may *stand still*, and see how the Church regards the Bishop's doctrine, and then tremble for ourselves, and pray for help. But you may say there remains a class, to which I belong, of men who have resisted the Bishop. But this lays two duties upon us : (i.) to be jealous for the truth as it is in Christ ; (ii.) to keep the Fifth Commandment. Have I failed in the latter? You have said so. The Bishop has reproached me with it. S.P.G. has charged the same against me. I am not going to be deaf to this warning. Neither having it before my eyes will I lead others into temptation, nor rush in myself, when I am persuaded it is not my hour.

"It is yours, as I wrote to your Dean. You can only say, 'For this cause came I to this hour, for this was I made Metropolitan.' If, as you say, you need a *promoter*, you need but *one*, and he had better be taken from your own, or from the Diocese of Grahamstown, where the clergy are not related to the Bishop as we are. If your Dean were the promoter, the Bishop would feel that pure motives only influenced him. But if I came forward, he might suspect that other feelings operated, and be irritated.

"The office too can be but nominal. It cannot be held that Bishops, who are soldiers, as well as judges, to whom in every form the chief guardianship of the truth is given, cannot move against false doctrine. It was not so in early days. In ordinary Courts, doubtless, an accuser is needed to put the evidence before the judge, for he cannot be aware of it in every case. So a bishop cannot in a criminal case. But when it is heresy, they are required to possess it. The Ordinal requires them to study the Scriptures for that very purpose. But the Scriptures, *not the promoter*, are the accusers. They are the witnesses, and the Bishops produce their testimony, when ever the Church needs it. Our Ordinal and our Articles and our practice establish this fundamental principle, though Dr. Lushington (a layman) may feel that, lacking Ordination, the Holy Ghost is not in such wise with him. I am sure the Church looks only to the bishops,—cares not for the arguments of the promoter, but wants to hear from them.

"All these things persuade me to sit still. Not that I look for ease. The head of heresy was never bruised without its bruising the Church's heel, and rarely without its being supported in high places for a while. Knowing this, I do not want to hurry forward the doubtful, the timid and the young. If suffering comes, it will come to such unexpectedly, as they would only be looking for the Bishop's defeat, and then there will be a

drawing back, which will be more injurious than if we sat still. When we see a path beset with difficulties, Charity bids us draw as few into it as possible. Whose difficulties are likely to be so great as ours? If you summon the Bishop to Capetown, we may expect him to visit us. He may come, condemned by you, but appealing against you, or setting you at naught, like Long. How shall we act? If we receive him, some will be offended; if we do not, others will be offended. No reasonable person can expect that we shall all act alike. However each acts, we shall be abundantly censured in almost every quarter. Help may we seek of God, but not of man in troublous times. Suppose the Bishop suspends men, and S.P.G. continues its grants to them, what miserable confusion! And this may continue for two years, or more, until the Appeals are decided. You will have many difficulties and anxieties, but, God only knows! I cannot think they will be like ours. It is we who have suffered. Our faith and courage and patience and constancy have been tried. You must not rank us with your own Diocese and that of Grahamstown. It is *without* them, and they oppose its entrance. It is *within* us, and has worked as harm amongst us and has deprived us of our head. Their duty is simple, ours complex; theirs plain—ours embarrassed at every step. Action may entail upon them exhaustion of mind and energy, disappointment and anxiety, but it is more than that here. You just mention one detail; namely, that we [*if promoters of the suit.—A.T.W.*] may be absent for three months, and that you have been perplexed as to how our duty is to be performed, and you suggest exchange. But will the Bishop give us leave? Can we apply to him for such leave? Can we absent ourselves without it? We are under him, and our relation to him comes into operation at every moment. I wrote to the Dean of Capetown by last mail expressing my views, but I added I would yield my judgment to others for the sake of unity. Since then I have ascertained that Fearn, Grubb [*the two Archdeacons.—A.T.W.*] Callaway, Nisbett, and Elder are of my opinion. Baugh, Tonnesen, Barker, and Rivett I can answer for. I have material before me which you have not, so I feel I ought to *think*. Yet to help you I will surrender my judgment so far as I can, but I have thought this point long and carefully over, not wishing to be carried away by any excitement or outcry. I send this to England as well as to the Cape, as you consult the Bishops at home. Please let me beg you to advise with them whether I am not right. You promised, when Fearn and

I wrote to you about the *Romans*, to write to us when you received the reply of the English Bishops. You have not as yet done so. If you would write, and take the occasion to enjoin silence on us clergy, on account of our relation to the Bishop; and bid the laity abstain from gaiety, and spend the time of the trial in prayer, it would do good: and then our holding aloof, whilst other dioceses came forward, will not be the impediment you fear.

"Your Lordship's obedient servant,
"JAMES GREEN."

This wise and statesmanlike letter prevailed with the Metropolitan. He and his friends in England were at first urgent that the promoter in the trial of Bishop Colenso should be from the Diocese of Natal. The Dean's most cogent reasons prevailed, and it was afterwards found to be a great source of strength that none of the Natal clergy appeared as the Bishop's accusers at his trial. The Dean's letter was a wonderful forecast of the immediate results of the trial. The full burden of the resultant trouble and persecution fell upon him, and upon the handful of loyal clergy in Natal. The Dean's allusion to Dr. Lushington, Dean of Arches, needs a word of explanation. In the *Essays and Reviews* case he had laid down as the *dictum* of the Court, that in judging a clergyman for alleged false doctrine, neither the Court of Arches, nor the Privy Council, could take account of passages of Scripture. "I will not be tempted," said Dr. Lushington, "in the trial by any accusation against any clergyman to resort to Scripture as the standard whereby the doctrine shall be measured." And this is the practice still in the Courts which dominate the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England as an Establishment. This is the judicial procedure under the Royal Supremacy of a Church which in Article VI. professes to base its doctrine on Scripture. Some of the results of the Tudor Reformation in England are very strange, although dear to Whig-Erastians.

Dr. Lushington on the authority of Scripture in the Court of Arches.

On the same date as he wrote to the Metropolitan the Dean replied to the letter of sympathy received from the President and Council of the E. C. U.—

"TO THE HON. COLIN LINDSAY, PRESIDENT OF ENGLISH CHURCH UNION.

"DEAR SIR,

"The ordinary expressions of thanks to yourself and the Council of the Church Union for your offer of active sympathy and assistance will but express the relief and com-

fort we feel at finding it has pleased Almighty God, at length, after so long a trial, to vouchsafe us deliverance. Should you, in your labours, require any local information, Canon Jenkins (Jesus College, Oxford), who is a member of this Cathedral, would cheerfully furnish you with it. I may as well state, for your information, that the Bishop would not admit that the Dioceses of South Africa formed a Province. He therefore made a point of referring everything directly to Canterbury, ignoring the Metropolitan. I found it necessary to protest; and I understood his Lordship to state, that if ever the Metropolitan attempted to exercise jurisdiction over him, he should dispute his power. His engagement at his Consecration, and his accepting of Letters Patent, seem to set strongly the other way. But he placed reliance on the fact of the word 'Province' nowhere occurring in the 'Letters,' arguing that a formal act was necessary to create a 'Province,' before the Consecration vow and the Royal Instructions in the 'Patent' could come into operation. I imagine therefore that this will be his Lordship's first step; and if you are aiding the Metropolitan, you might perhaps be able to direct your attention to that point.

"Yours faithfully,

"JAMES GREEN (*Dean*)."

When the Metropolitan returned to South Africa, the Dean sent him the following letter, written after consultation with Archdeacon Fearn and Canon Callaway.

"21st April, 1863.

"MY LORD,

The Dean's
second letter
to the Metro-
politan.

"Archdeacon Fearn, Canon Callaway and myself, having had an opportunity of conferring together, it was agreed that I should address your Lordship, now that you have returned to Africa, and most humbly solicit your earnest attention to the afflicted condition of the Church in this Diocese. That teaching of our Bishop, which has drawn down upon it the severe censure of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and we believe we may thankfully add, of nearly the whole Church, has, as your Lordship will bear us witness, been for years past protested against and complained of by us in various ways. But it has pleased Almighty God hitherto to prolong the time of our trial. At length we venture to hope that the hour of deliverance is at hand, as we are informed that the doctrines set forth by our Bishop, in his recent publications in England, are about to be inquired into by your Lordship. We think it our duty, in such a crisis, to state to your Lordship,

as chief Bishop in these parts, that although we may humbly hope that some have been rendered more perfect through suffering, yet much hurt has been done to many souls by the teaching of our Bishop. Some have been shaken in their faith; others, wearied or perplexed, have grown cold in love, and turned aside to serve this present world. Whilst praying your Lordship to take care of this wasted Diocese, we wish to state that we do not shrink from again coming forward, according to our ability, to defend the Faith; but being in doubt as to our exact duty, we pray your Lordship's advice. The publication, my Lord, by our Bishop of books in England, which but few in this Diocese see, affects us less grievously than his having set forth strange doctrines *ex cathedra* amongst us. Of this we have formerly complained, and would rather confine ourselves to it, unless your Lordship should advise us that, the whole Church being afflicted by the former, we should lay aside our own particular sufferings and concern ourselves only with that which is common to all. If so, my Lord, we will endeavour to do our duty. Yet we hope that, now that the whole Church is afflicted, and not this Diocese alone, we may be spared the most painful task of being the public accusers of him from whom we have received our cares and offices. On former occasions we have appealed; but now shall be most grateful if the Church can find other priests to carry her complaints against our Bishop before your Lordship. Though willing to share your burden, we do trust that our office may now be to pray rather than to accuse.

"Believe me to remain, my Lord,

"With the deepest respect and affection,

"Your Lordship's obedient servant,

"JAMES GREEN (*Dean*)."

"TO THE MOST REVEREND,
THE LORD BISHOP OF CAPETOWN."

The S.P.G. accepted the advice of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the English Bishops with regard to the Diocese of Natal. They declined to allow Bishop Colenso to administer their block-grant to the Diocese any longer, and they entrusted its future administration to Dean Green, assisted by a small local Committee. Bishop Colenso's name was afterwards struck off their list of Vice-Presidents. It is interesting to note that Bishop Tait of London, who was afterwards the chief protagonist of Erastianism with regard to the Colenso case, wrote to Archbishop Longley strongly protesting against the action of S.P.G. in declining to allow Bishop Colenso to continue to be the administrator of their grants.

The S.P.G. entrust their block-grant to the Dean for administration.

Bishop Tait protests against the action of the S.P.G.

CHAPTER VII.

1863-1865.

The conflict of the Catholic and the Erastian ideals manifested in the trial of Bishop Colenso and its immediate consequences—Bishop Tait's Erastianism—Letter of Archdeacon Grubb and others to Bishop Colenso—His presentment for trial by Dean Douglas, Archdeacon Merriman and Archdeacon Badnall—His trial in Capetown Cathedral—The charges—The judgment—Canonical reasons for its acceptance—The first Provincial Synod—Mr. Keble and Dr. Pusey on the judgment—Pastoral Letter of the Metropolitan and Bishops to the Diocese of Natal—Its Official Visitation by the Metropolitan—His Charge—Judgment of the Privy Council in the Colenso case—Letters upon it from the Metropolitan, Rev. W. Palmer, Bishop Wilberforce and Dr. Pusey—Pastoral of the Dean.

WE have now arrived at a stage in the great conflict between the Catholic and Erastian ideals in South Africa, which is marked by the trial of Bishop Colenso for heresy in the Court of the Metropolitan. The actual trial has been fully dealt with in Bishop Gray's *Life* (vol. ii.). We shall therefore summarise its proceedings, since the wisdom of Dean Green prevailed over the counsels of others, and his desire to stand aside was accomplished. A full account of the trial would therefore be out of place in his biography. But since the trial itself was an incident in the great conflict, which was to have such far-reaching issues, it will be well here to place on record very plainly what the opposing ideals in that conflict really are. No one will deny the ability with which Bishop Colenso argued and fought for the Protestant-Erastian view of the Royal Supremacy. Let us hear his definition of it. He recognised "as the grand foundation principle of the Church of England, that the Queen, not of course in her personal capacity, but as representing the whole nation—the State, and not the clerical body, is the one only legislator and supreme arbiter of all causes that may arise within her pale, *spiritual* as well as *temporal*; that the Archbishops and Bishops in England itself exercise jurisdiction in the Church, *as it is delegated to them from the Crown*, and hold their Courts *in the Queen's name*; that *all their authority*, except only what comes by force of

Bishop
Colenso's
Erastian
ideal.

moral persuasion and convincing argument, *emanates from the common Head of the Church and State*. This principle seems to many excellent persons very objectionable; it is styled *Erastian*, and condemned as ungodly. I assert that it is the fundamental principle of the Church of England" (*Life*, vol. ii. p. 374).

Bishop Tait, as Bishop of London, opposed Bishop Gray's action with regard to Bishop Colenso on frankly Erastian grounds. His biographers (the present Archbishop of Canterbury and Canon Benham), writing in 1891, naturally expressed themselves in terms of diplomatic condonation in dealing with his part in the Natal controversy. Here is what they say. "Difficult as it was to define the manner in which the Royal Supremacy was to operate in the varying conditions of Colonial life, Bishop Tait was determined to maintain, so far as in him lay, the rules and liberties which he believed that Supremacy to guarantee. His resistance to what he deemed the perilous high-handedness of Bishop Gray was no isolated act of merely personal or local significance; it was part of a definite and well considered policy" (*Life of Abp. Tait*, vol. i. pp. 396-97).

This policy led him to disavow Dr. Colenso's heresies, and yet firmly support him as "Queen's Bishop" of Natal after his trial and deposition. Bishop Gray asked him whether he was in communion with Dr. Colenso or not. Bishop Tait replied on 6th February, 1868, that he *was* in communion with Dr. Colenso, "notwithstanding your deposition of him". Although this mention of Bishop Tait's view is in anticipation of the course of events, we quote it here to show how powerful a hold the Erastian ideal had obtained in the highest places in the Church of England. The Metropolitan of South Africa and Dean Green had to fight the battle of the Catholic ideal against foes of overwhelming strength. But their cause was righteous, their faith was great, and it prevailed.

If the Church of England is not the historical Church of the Anglo-Saxon race, the living link that binds those in communion with it, of whatever race, to the Church of Pentecost, by the sacred chain of valid Orders and Sacraments,—if, on the contrary, it is the creature of the State, and owes its historic and corporate existence to Tudor Acts of Parliament, there is no room in it for any wider conception than the Erastianism of Bishop Colenso, and his supporters in England. If the Erastian ideal be true, the Church of England is in no sense a part of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ. It is ruled by the State, and not governed by the Canon Law,

Bishop Tait's
Erastianism.

Bishop Tait
ultimately
remained in
communion
with Dr.
Colenso.

The Catholic
ideal of the
Church of
England.

which expresses the Regal Power of Christ, as King in His Body Visible. It is the State-made *simulacrum* of the Kingdom of God on earth, a dignified parody, but not a reality. If the Royal Supremacy, as expressed through a Secular Court of the Sovereign, such as the Privy Council, is really the dominant factor of the Church of England, no one could remain in communion with her without imperilling his soul's salvation. But the Church of England was *forced* and *coerced* into accepting the Royal Supremacy. She accepted it with the saving clause "*quantum per Christi leges licet*".

The Church of England was coerced into accepting the Royal Supremacy.

It was Keble who said that he never could bring allegiance to the Privy Council in matters ecclesiastical within the scope of the Fifth Commandment. The domination of Secular Courts in spiritual matters was well termed by Jeremy Taylor "an impious *heretical trick*". The Church of England never accepted, by her Sacred Synods, the Privy Council as her Final Court of Appeal. She has never consented corporately to the theory of Erastianism set forth within her borders by some of her own unworthy sons. And the attempt to extend the yoke of the Royal Supremacy, as expressed by a Secular Court, to the Church in the Colonies cannot be described otherwise than as an attempt to strangle infant Churches at their very birth.

She never accepted the Privy Council as her Court of Final Appeal.

The outcome of the Colenso case was the ultimate freedom of the Colonial Church.

The outcome of the Colenso case was the freedom of the Colonial Churches from the dark shadow of Erastianism, and from the last shreds of the Royal Supremacy, as administered by a Parliament which has ceased to be Christian.

The extended life of the un-established Churches of the Anglican Communion, their orderly and stable condition, under the common Canon Law of Christendom, as applied to their various local exigencies, is answer enough to the Erastians who feared that the un-established Churches would abuse their freedom, and depart from the Faith, unless fettered by the decisions of the Royal Supremacy (as expressed by the Privy Council), wherein Secular Judges have laid unhallowed hands upon the Ark of God, and professed to discriminate for Catholic believers the central verities of our Faith.

This is the Catholic ideal, which was so bravely maintained by Bishop Gray and Dean Green.

The Colenso trial and judgment.

We will now briefly summarise the Colenso trial and judgment.

But we must first note that, notwithstanding Dean Green's warning, Archdeacon Grubb and others addressed the following remonstrance to Bishop Colenso.

" 1st June, 1863.

" TO THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF NATAL.

Letter of
Archdeacon
Grubb and
others to
Bishop
Colenso.

"We, duly licensed clergy, ministering in the diocese of Natal, desire to address your Lordship upon a matter of the utmost importance to the Church planted in this Colony.

"We have heard, with the deepest pain, of a work published by you, in which you state in effect that you no longer hold, believe, nor are able to teach, some, at least, of the most vital of the doctrines of the United Church of England and Ireland.

"We consider that in our relative positions, it would have ill become us to have been the first to draw attention to acts of yours done before the whole world, and therefore we remained silent until those in authority in our Church had publicly marked their sense of your Lordship's proceeding.

"But we understand that a very large majority of the Archbishops and Bishops having written to you suggesting the propriety of your resigning your office, you have answered that it is not your intention to comply with that suggestion.

"Under these circumstances, we consider that a longer silence on our part would be most culpable.

"There are, we are aware, legal questions which it belongs to others to decide, but we feel that we have a duty independently of any merely legal proceedings.

"The various offices which we hold, the emoluments we receive, are held on the faith of our upholding and defending the doctrines of the Church of England, and on that understanding only could we honestly and conscientiously continue to hold those offices or to receive those emoluments.

"Unfeignedly believing all the Canonical Scriptures of the 'New and Old Testament,' and bound to 'banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God's Word,' we feel compelled, in the sight of God and His Church, and more especially before 'the people committed to our care and charge,' to protest most solemnly against the position taken by you in the publication of this book, and your determination to retain the office of Bishop; and we think it right to lay this our protest before the ecclesiastical authority

to whom, next to your Lordship, we must look, the Metropolitan Bishop of Capetown.

"We are,

"Your Lordship's faithful Servants,

"C. L. GRUBB, M.A.,

Archdeacon of Maritzburg.

"WILLIAM CYMRIC HENRY LLOYD,

Colonial Chaplain, Rector of Durban.

"JAMES WALTON, Pinetown.

"A. TONNESEN, Ungababa.

"W. BAUGH, Umbazi.

"W. A. ELDER.

"JOSEPH BARKER.

"A. W. L. RIVETT, Addington.

The un-
wisdom of
this letter
subsequently
manifest.

The Dean's forecast with regard to the confused views of the Natal clergy was painfully verified in the future. Mr. Tonnesen returned to an alliance with Dr. Colenso, and became one of his leading supporters, after his deposition. Mr. Lloyd, after protesting a little longer than Mr. Tonnesen, also gave his adhesion to his deposed Diocesan on Erastian grounds, and was rewarded by him with the title of "Archdeacon of Durban". When the date of the trial was finally fixed for 17th November, Dean Green sent the following letter to the clergy of the Diocese of Natal:—

"MARITZBURG,
"9th November, 1863.

Circular
letter of the
Dean to the
Clergy
calling for
special
prayer during
the trial.

"DEAR SIR,

"As the 17th instant is the day appointed by the Bishops of South Africa, presided over by the Lord Bishop of Capetown, to inquire into the faith of the Bishop of this Diocese, I feel, and am confident that you and the members of the Church generally, will share my feeling, that such time should be observed by us all as a season of abstinence, and be spent in prayer and confession of sin. I propose therefore (D.V.) to urge upon the congregations at Maritzburg so to observe it, and intend throughout the week to say the Litany daily at Morning Prayer; and if your congregation would unite with us in such supplication, it will add strength to our prayers. So awful is the promise of ratification of the judgment of the Church in S. Matt. xviii., that her members cannot but be bound to give themselves to most earnest prayer that our Lord's Presence may go with the assembled Bishops, that it may not be *they* that speak, but the Holy Ghost which

speaketh in them. So praying, we must pray also that our Bishop may hear the Church. Such prayers we may humbly hope will be offered up in many quarters. But especially are we bound to humble ourselves before God, for may it not be the drunkenness and love of money—the service of the flesh and the world by the members of the Church, which have provoked the Almighty to withdraw His Grace from us? Our return to the way of righteousness might be rewarded by our being joined together yet again with our Bishop in the unity of the Faith. At this moment, let us bear in mind S. Paul's language concerning Israel: *If the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be but life from the dead?* And pray that, if it be possible, the assembled Bishops may be allowed to receive back their brother, and our head. *The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much.* Who then shall say how much at this time may depend upon the faith and devotion of each individual Christian? I feel, therefore, that I have no need to apologise for addressing you on this subject, and begging you to urge upon your flock what I think one and all must feel to be but duty.

"I remain,

"Yours faithfully,

"JAMES GREEN."

The Christian dignity and lofty tone of Dean Green's letter speaks for itself.

It was ultimately decided that Bishop Colenso should be presented for trial by Dean Douglas of Capetown (afterwards Bishop of Bombay), Archdeacon Merriman of Grahamstown (afterwards Bishop of Grahamstown), and Archdeacon Badnall of George. The presentment of Bishop Colenso for heresy. Dean Green's weighty letters had done their work. The prosecution of the Bishop of Natal was conducted apart from the clergy of his Diocese.

The Letter of the Dean and Archdeacons.

"TO THE MOST REVEREND ROBERT GRAY, D.D., LORD
BISHOP OF CAPETOWN AND METROPOLITAN.

"MY LORD,

"We, the undersigned, being Clerks in Holy Orders of the United Church of England and Ireland, and having cure of souls within the Province of Capetown, under your Lordship's Metropolitan jurisdiction, constrained by a sense of

duty to the Church within which we hold office, desire to lay before your Lordship a charge of false teaching on the part of the Right Reverend John William Colenso, Doctor in Divinity, Lord Bishop of Natal, and a Suffragan Bishop of this Province.

"The charge which we bring is founded upon certain extracts from writings published and put forth by the Bishop; entitled, '*St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, newly translated, and explained from a missionary point of view*;' and Parts I. and II. of the '*Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined*'; and sold and published in the city of Capetown within the last two years.

"These extracts are contained in nine schedules, and a copy of them is hereto annexed, numbered from I. to IX. inclusive.

"I. With respect to the eight, all and each of them, which stand first, we charge the Bishop of Natal with holding and promulgating opinions which contravene and subvert the Catholic faith as defined and expressed in the Thirty-nine Articles of religion, and the formularies of the Book of Common Prayer of the United Church of England and Ireland.

"And, accordingly, under each schedule of extracts, we have specified the particular article or articles and other portions of the Church's symbols and formularies, which, we are persuaded, those extracts contravene, and which we crave may be considered as if herein inserted and word for word repeated.

"II. With respect to the extracts contained in the ninth schedule, we charge the Bishop of Natal with depraving, and impugning, and otherwise bringing into disrepute the Book of Common Prayer, particularly portions of the Ordinal and Baptismal Services, and in so doing with violating the law of the United Church of England and Ireland, as contained in the 36th of the Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical. We are deeply conscious of the gravity of these charges, as brought against one who holds the office of a Bishop, and of the responsibility which we incur in making them; but the scandal which these publications have caused, and the feelings which are entertained regarding them by the clergy of the Province generally, seemed imperatively to require that we should lay them before your Lordship, and ask for your judgment upon the doctrines which are therein contained.

"It only remains for us to inform your Lordship that we are prepared, if required, to prove the charges which we bring, and further to request that an opportunity may be

afforded us of proving them at such time and in such manner as your Lordship may see fit to appoint.

"Dated at Capetown, the 6th, and at Grahamstown the 12th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1863.

"We are, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's faithful servants,

"H. A. DOUGLAS, *Dean of Capetown.*

"N. J. MERRIMAN, *Archdeacon of Grahamstown.*

"H. BADNALL, *Archdeacon of George,
and Rector of St. Mark's, George Town.*

These three priests who presented Bishop Colenso for heresy were men of unusual power and ability. Dean Douglas, who was afterwards Bishop of Bombay, was a theologian of profound learning. His published speech at the trial is a theological treatise on the points at issue which is well worth careful study. Archdeacon Merriman was a ripe scholar, well grounded in the Faith. The exhaustive speech of the Dean, which opened the proceedings, covered the ground so exhaustively as to leave little scope for those who followed him. But both Archdeacon Merriman and Archdeacon Badnall treated the points in question from their own standpoint, and added not a little to the full force of the arguments laid before the Court. The trial began in St. George's Cathedral, Capetown, on 17th November, 1863. The Metropolitan and his two Assessors, the Bishops of Grahamstown and of the Orange Free State, sat in front of the altar, in a space in the choir set apart for the purpose. Much the same arrangements were made, as have since been usual at the holding of our Provincial Synods in the Cathedral. The general public, who attended in large numbers, were admitted to the nave of the Cathedral. The external ordering of the trial was dignified, seemly and impressive in every adjunct. Although we shall rejoice throughout South Africa at the completion of the new Cathedral, we shall miss the historical associations of the old building; and this trial is one of its most solemn memories. The old Cathedral has a dignity of its own, and it lends itself to the purposes of a Synod, or to such an event as this historic trial, from its spaciousness and breadth, far better than many modern Gothic churches of equal size and area. But before entering further upon this trial, it is necessary, in the interests of truth, to quote some remarks upon it upon p. 351, vol. i., of the *Life of Archbishop Tait*. "It is easy to criticise," say his biographers, "or even to *ridicule*, the proceedings at

The status of presenting clergy.

The trial begins in Capetown Cathedral.

Remarks upon the trial by the biographers of Archbishop Tait.

this *quasi-trial*, conducted in a manner, to say the least, unusual, and unaided by the presence of any legal assessor, or lay judge."

It was natural for the biographers of Archbishop Tait to make out as good a case as they could for his dissenting from the verdict of Convocation in 1868, when the Lower House resolved that the deposition and excommunication of Dr. Colenso were *valid*, and the Upper House stated that "substantial justice was done to the accused," and that "the Church, as a spiritual body, may rightly accept the validity of the sentence". But to use the word *quasi-trial*, and to suggest "ridicule," is unworthy on the part of persons who had access to information which would have saved them from ignorance, had they made use of it.

The full records of the Colenso trial at Capetown were most carefully transcribed, and immediately published both in South Africa and in London.

Careful
canonical
accuracy of
the procedure
of the trial.

The writer of this book has some claim to be considered an authority upon ecclesiastical law. He has carefully considered the procedure of the Colenso trial at Capetown, and has had this matter before him for many years. His deliberate conviction is that there was no possible loophole for criticising the constitution or the procedure of the Court. The majority of the Bishops of the Province were present. No lay assessor is demanded by the Canon Law in such a case. It will be remembered that when Archbishop Benson sat in the Lincoln case he claimed to sit as *iudex solus*, and his claim was justly disputed. But Bishop Gray sat, in accordance with ancient precedent, with his Suffragans as Assessors, and each delivered his separate judgment in the case.

The fact that the proceedings in the Metropolitan's Court were afterwards adjudged to have no *civil* effect could not touch their *spiritual* validity. But to Archbishop Tait, and those who thought with him, *civil* and *statute* law was all. They acknowledged no spiritual tribunals, or spiritual sentences. To them the Church was in subjection to statute law. If Parliament abolished a creed, or ordered the Church to marry divorced persons, or to marry men to the sisters of their deceased wives, on Erastian principles, the Church had no *spiritual laws* of her own. She had to act as the obedient servant of the State, and submit.

The appearance of Dr. Bleek at the trial.

At the beginning of the trial a remarkable incident occurred. Bishop Colenso was in England, and formally declined to appear. But he appointed Dr. Bleek, a resident in

Capetown who was a Unitarian, to appear for him to protest against the proceedings, and give notice of appeal, if the judgment condemned him. If Dr. Bleek had been a lawyer, his presence would have been intelligible. But he was not.

Dean Douglas, who was a skilled theologian and lucid speaker, made the principal speech on behalf of the presenters. It lasted all day, and was closed on 18th November. The Dean's address was thus commented upon by one that heard it: "In point of oratory, eloquence, grasp of subject, analysis of the Bishop's system, clearness of style, soundness of theology, it is a very remarkable production. There are very few men in England who could have delivered such an address." We can find room only for the following clear words on the Kenotic heresy: "The Bishop says that our Lord was wrong—upon things pertaining to His own Book. The Bishop teaches that He whom we believe to be the Author of the Bible was *ignorant* both of the substance and sources of the Book. And if our Lord was *wrong* in this, where was He *right*? What are His words worth? Where can we trust Him? Where shall we follow Him? Is it for such a One as this that Apostles forsook all, that Saints lived, that Martyrs died?"

The speeches
of the
Promoters.

Dealing with this same point, Archdeacon Merriman said: "Simple privation of knowledge is compatible with absolute innocence, but, surely, palpable error and blind self-delusion are not so, but manifestly have the nature of sin. We abstain from pursuing the Bishop's positions into their legitimate and most awful consequences."

Archdeacon Badnall, speaking of our Lord's human mind as *finite*, said, "The conception of finiteness does not include the conception of *error* or sin. Our Lord in being made Man did not thereby take *error* into communion with His Godhead."

We cite this point as a specimen of the agreement of the Promoters in their arguments. After the close of the arguments the Metropolitan put in a long letter written to him by Dr. Colenso as a defence of his commentary on the *Romans*, and ordered the Court to adjourn till 21st November to consider it. The letter was not written with a view to the trial, and need not have been considered at all. But the Metropolitan was rightly anxious that everything that Dr. Colenso had urged in his defence should be most carefully considered. The Court again adjourned till 14th December, when the opinions of the Bishops of Grahamstown and of the Free State, both alike condemning the accused on all counts, were delivered as Assessors. Dr. Cotterill (Bishop of Grahamstown) declared that each of

Bishop
Colenso's
letter of
defence.

The
Assessors'
judgments.

Summary of
the Metro-
politan's
judgment.

the Nine Articles of Accusation had been clearly proved. Upon Article VIII., which dealt with the Kenotic heresy, he said "that the Bishop of Natal's arguments are not consistent with any creed that teaches the Divinity of our Blessed Lord, except that which is condemned by the Church as Nestorianism". Bishop Cotterill was a man of sober judgment and breadth of view, yet he was constrained to say of the nine charges against Dr. Colenso that "whatever latitude of opinion may be allowed, and ought to be allowed, within the limits marked out by our Church, the Bishop, so far as I can judge, has transgressed these limits in regard to every one of these charges. I see no way of escaping this conclusion, if the standards of our Church are to have any definite meaning." On 16th December the Metropolitan delivered the judgment of the Court. It will help us to analyse this most important judgment the better, if we quote the Articles of Accusation and the conclusion of the judgment with regard to each separate Article. The judgment was not a cumulative one, and it found Dr. Colenso guilty of heresy on each one of the Nine Articles of Accusation, which may be summarised as follows:—

Charge I.

I. That in his book on the Epistle to the Romans Dr. Colenso had denied the Catholic doctrine of the Atonement, as expressed in Articles ii. and xxxi. of the 39 Articles of Religion.

The judgment stated that the charge was fully proved, and that Dr. Colenso had explicitly denied that our Lord died so as to bear the penalty of our sins.

Charge II.

II. That in the same book Dr. Colenso denied the Catholic doctrine of Justification by Faith.

The judgment stated: "Had the Bishop been content with affirming that our Lord redeemed all mankind, that His Sacrifice was offered for the sins of the whole world; that we know not how far His meritorious Cross and Passion may avail for those who never heard of His name or of His Sacrifice of Love; that God's mercy and love might exceed His own gracious promises; that being the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, Christ's redemption looked backward as well as forward, and might have an efficacy beyond what some had been willing to admit; he would have expressed himself as many within the Church have, without challenge, expressed themselves before him. The Church has not dogmatised in such matters. But the Bishop has done more than this. He has confounded justification with redemption, and it is not the mere misapplication of a word. Justification with him means more than the Church means by redemption. The necessary conse-

quence of such views is that faith in any intelligible and accepted sense cannot be necessary to justification. And this is the Bishop's view—(here follow quotations from Dr. Colenso in proof). The Bishop claims justification for men who do not believe in Christ, who have never heard of Him. Apparently he makes no distinction between a baptised and unbaptised child." The Metropolitan decided that Dr. Colenso's teaching was contradictory to that of Articles xi. and xviii., the 3rd Collect for Good Friday and the Offices for Holy Baptism.

III. That in the same book Dr. Colenso denied that the Sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Communion conveyed any special grace, and that he also denied that they were "generally necessary to salvation". Charge III.

On this charge the Metropolitan held that Dr. Colenso contradicted the express teaching of the Church Catechism, the Offices for Baptism and Confirmation, the Nicene Creed, and Articles xxv., xxvi., xxvii., and xxviii.

IV. That Dr. Colenso, in the same book, said: "I do now declare that I can no longer maintain or give utterance to the endlessness of future punishments". Charge IV.

The Metropolitan's judgment on this charge was as follows: "The teaching of the Church of England clearly is that the punishment of the wicked will last for ever. And this has been the teaching of the Catholic Church in all ages."

V. That in his work on the Pentateuch Dr. Colenso had said: "The Bible is not itself God's Word, but assuredly God's Word will be heard in the Bible. The Pentateuch, as a whole, was not written by Moses, and with respect to some at least of the chief portions of the story, it cannot be regarded as historically true." He also speaks of "the intermixture of error, infirmity, passion, and ignorance" in the Old Testament. Charge V.

The Metropolitan held that Dr. Colenso had contravened by these words Articles vi., viii., and the teaching of the Ordinal, and said: "But were the Articles and Formularies altogether silent as to the Bible being the Word of God, or were the Church's language less decided on the subject, I should still have felt it my duty to declare on other grounds that the Bishop was not entitled to say that the Bible was not the Word of God, or that it was marked with error, infirmity, passion, and ignorance. The Church of England does not date its existence from the period of the Reformation. Its history stretches to Apostolic times. It holds what the whole Church has always held."

VI. That in the same book Dr. Colenso states that "we must Charge VI.

not blindly shut our eyes to the real history of the composition of this book, to the legendary character of its earlier portions, to the manifest contradictions and impossibilities which rise up at once in every part of the story of the Exodus ;” and, further, that “natural facts may have been magnified into prodigies, and a few thousands multiplied into two millions of people”. The author of the story “appears to have adopted the form of a history, based upon the floating legends and traditions of the time, filling up the narrative we may believe, perhaps to a large extent, out of his own imagination. We need not be restrained by any fear of trespassing upon Divine and Holy ground. The writers of these books cannot now be regarded as having been under such constant infallible supernatural guidance as the ordinary doctrine of Scripture inspiration supposes.”

The Metropolitan’s judgment upon these extracts is as follow: “Now, without wishing to limit the proper field and province of criticism, or to restrict the freedom which may be regarded as desirable for the eliciting of the truth—without attempting to define Inspiration (a word which does not occur in the Articles or Formularies in connection with this subject), or venturing to say where the human element in the Bible ends and where the Divine begins, I must deny that the Church does or can permit her ministers without restraint to make such assertions as these. They are, in my judgment, wholly inconsistent with an honest subscription to the Formularies of the Church. According to the Bishop of Natal, the order to read the Pentateuch and other books of the Old Testament in Church is an order to read fables, myths, uncertain stories, and legends. He is at direct issue with the Church as to the character of Holy Scripture.”

Charge VII.

VII. That in the same book Dr. Colenso states that the story of the Deluge in the Book of Genesis “is utterly incredible,” and that “we shall see the utter impossibility of receiving any longer this story of the Exodus as literally and historically true ;” and, again, “according to our view, Joshua was only a mythical, or, perhaps, legendary personage ;” and, again, “it is not I who require you to abandon the ordinary notion of the Mosaic authorship and antiquity of the Pentateuch. It is the truth itself that does so” ;—thereby denying, in whole or in part, the authenticity, genuineness, and truth of certain books of Holy Scripture.

The Metropolitan prefaced his judgment by saying that “it is the first duty of the Bishops of the Church to see that its teaching should be preserved pure, incorrupt, complete, fixed, and positive. But so far as is compatible with this, not only

must freedom be allowed to the clergy, but special care must be taken not to overstrain and exaggerate their engagements, and the most generous construction must be put upon the language of any who may be accused of false teaching." He then pronounced that the charge under the 7th Article was proved, and that Dr. Colenso had contradicted the teaching of the Church on Holy Scripture, and rejected the testimony of our Lord to the authority of the Old Testament.

VIII. *That in the same book Dr. Colenso said of our Lord :* Charge VIII.

"At what period of His life upon earth is it supposed that He had granted to Him, as Son of Man, supernaturally full and accurate information on these points, so that He should be expected to speak of the Pentateuch in other terms than any other devout Jew of that day would have employed? Why should it be thought that He would speak with certain Divine knowledge on this matter more than upon other matters of science and history?" The charge is, that in maintaining that our Lord was ignorant and in error upon the subject of the authorship and age of the different portions of the Pentateuch, Dr. Colenso denied the doctrine that our Blessed Lord was God and Man in one Person.

The Metropolitan's judgment on this charge was as follows: "If, as the Bishop affirms, our Lord while on earth was ignorant and liable to error—if He quoted fiction for fact, legends for history—if He mistook altogether the character of the Bible, believed the mere human composition to be the Word of God—believed that he had spoken to Moses when He had not—then, if these things be so, we have no sure ground for our faith. Mistaken in one point, He whom we call Lord may have been so in every matter. We could not admit the Bishop's statement without shaking to its very foundation the whole Christian Faith as a revelation from God. I must decide that in imputing to our Blessed Lord ignorance and the possibility of error, the Bishop has committed himself to a most subtle heresy, destructive of the reality of the Incarnation, and that he has departed from the Catholic Faith as held in the Church from the beginning, and as expressed in the 2nd Article and the Creeds."

IX. *That in the same book Dr. Colenso stated of the* Charge IX.
Prayer in the Baptismal Office, "it is of no avail to say there was a deluge of some kind or other. The Church Prayer Book does not mean this. Each clergyman is bound to believe in the historical truth of Noah's flood as recorded in the Bible—till the Legislature shall relax the painful obligation. What are they to do who cannot bear to utter what they know to be untrue in

the face of God and the congregation? I see no remedy for these but to omit such words—to disobey the law of the Church, and take the consequences of the act. Should a clergyman be suspended or expelled from the Church of England because he could not bear to approach the holy presence of God by addressing Him as the Being who of His great Mercy did save Noah and his family in the Ark from perishing by water, then may we sooner attain the freedom which is needed to make the Church of England the National Church.” The charge preferred is that in this and other passages Dr. Colenso depraved and impugned the Book of Common Prayer.

The Metropolitan held this charge proved, and closed his judgment with the words: “It is with the deepest pain that I have arrived at the conclusion to which I am driven—that my brother, once a witness for the truth, is now a destroyer of that faith which in days past he upheld. I do not stand alone in this conviction. On account of these writings which have been under review, nearly every Bishop of the Church of England has called upon him to resign his See, and on his refusal to do this has inhibited him from officiating in his Diocese.”

The formal sentence.

The Metropolitan then gave formal sentence, deposing the Right Rev. J. W. Colenso, D.D., from the See of Natal, unless he formally retracted his errors by 16th April, 1864.

The Third Proviso and the Colenso judgment.

The Third Proviso in the Constitution of the Church of the Province of South Africa declares, that “the Church of this Province is not held to be bound by decisions in questions of Faith and Doctrine, or in questions of Discipline relating to Faith and Doctrine, *other than those of its own Ecclesiastical Tribunals*, or of such tribunal as may be accepted by the Provincial Synod as a Tribunal of Appeal”. This proviso shuts out of the purview of our Church Courts the decisions of the Privy Council in matters of Faith and Doctrine. The South African Church thus excludes the authority of the “case-law” forced upon the Church of England by the Royal supremacy. The decisions of our own Church Courts are independent of such “case-law”. But the authority of our own South African “case-law” binds our Courts. Very providentially we have only had one instance of “case-law” involving heresy. That, of course, is the decision of the Court of the Metropolitan in the Colenso case. This decision can be pleaded as authoritative in our Courts, and it likewise binds our clergy *in foro conscientia*. It is important therefore to set down the true interpretation of the judgment of the Metropolitan in this case. With regard to the first *four* charges the judgment is

The present authority of the Colenso judgment.

a plain expression of the Catholic Faith. With regard to charges v., vi., vii., it is needful to define accurately the meaning of the judgment. The judgment was delivered in 1863, when the question of Biblical criticism was not so prominent as it is now. But its words are broad and tolerant. In stating the unlawfulness of Dr. Colenso's dogmatic assertions as to the results of his criticism on the Old Testament the judgment says: "Now, without wishing to limit the proper field and province of criticism, or to restrict the freedom which may be regarded as desirable for the eliciting of the truth;—without attempting to define Inspiration (a word which does not occur in the Articles or Formularies in connection with this subject), or venturing to say where the human element in the Bible ends, or where the Divine begins, I must deny that the Church does or can permit her ministers without restraint to make such assertions as these". The breadth and tolerance of these words is the more remarkable, when we consider that they were delivered when religious people in England, and elsewhere, were under the influence of intense and almost panic indignation on account of Dr. Colenso's assertions, on the Old Testament. The Spirit of God guided the Metropolitan to use words of sober wisdom, which give full scope to legitimate and reverent criticism. Despite the fact that they were uttered over forty years ago, they form a true and safe landmark for the Church of to-day, and in fact for all time. They lay down great principles of liberty and freedom. What they condemn is simple and plain. The *conclusions* of criticism must not be forced upon the Church as *dogmatic assertions* to be accepted by all. The tendency of the "Higher Criticism" of to-day is in the direction of *dogmatic assertions*. The attitude of the Church towards these assertions must be that they are "not proven". The South African Church is bound by the Colenso judgment to regard all critical studies with an open mind, but to meet criticism, when it passes into "dogmatic assertion," with the verdict "not proven".

The same sound and broad-minded wisdom characterises Bishop Gray's judgment, when the Doctrine of our Lord's Person is called in question under charge viii. The judgment forbids us to say that our Lord was in ignorance or error when He made use of the Old Testament. The Kenotic heresy, invented mainly by Luther, has been revived in modern times in order to make room for the theories of the "Higher Criticism" of the Old Testament. This heresy is unequivocally condemned in the Metropolitan's judgment. As we have

The decision
of the
judgment on
Biblical
criticism.

Its breadth
and tolerance.

Its true issues
and import.

The
judgment on
our Lord's
Person.

Condem-
nation of
Kenotic
heresy.

said in a previous chapter, the heresy of Dr. Colenso denied that the knowledge of our Lord's Human Mind was *perfect*, so far as the mind of the Perfect Man could express and convey the Omniscience of God. To attribute want of knowledge, amounting to error in questions of fact, to our Lord is, as the judgment says, "a most subtle heresy, destructive of the reality of the Incarnation". The judgment then commits the South African Church to these two points we have been explaining. It permits no dogmatic assertions of the *conclusions* of criticism, whereby they should be considered *facts* to be necessarily accepted; and it allows no latitude to any criticism which denies that our Lord taught infallible truth with regard to the Old Testament. It is impossible to believe that our Lord permitted a wholly erroneous view of the Old Testament to be passed on by His Apostles to the Church.

A statement of Canonical reasons for accepting the judgment as binding in South Africa.

The writer thinks that it would be useful to insert here an article, written by him some years ago, to show that the Colenso judgment, as a *res iudicata*, is binding upon the South African Church. It was published at a time when the writer and Dean Green were in correspondence on the subject, and he ventures to think that it may be considered representative of the Dean's views as well as his own :—

"THE COLENZO JUDGMENT.

"In the last issue of *The Southern Cross*, the decisions embodied in the Colenso Judgment were declared to be binding upon all the Clergy of the South African Church who have signed our Constitution and Canons. Although this fact will appear a self-evident one to the clergy who have thus bound themselves by a solemn contract to adhere and abide by the laws of the Church of this Province, it may be well to explain in detail the legal principles upon which this self-evident fact is based. To begin with, we are upon ground which is common to all legal procedure, and which is not confined only to the procedure of Ecclesiastical Law. The maxim of the Civil Law *res iudicata pro veritate accipitur* is a principle which applies to all legal decisions. A judgment once given upon certain facts, governed by certain laws applicable to those facts, must stand until the laws in accordance with which the judgment is given are themselves altered. This is explained clearly in such a well-known work as Broom's *Legal Maxims*. Lord Kenyon laid down that 'to unravel the grounds and motives that may have led to the determination of a question once settled would be extremely dangerous; it is better, for the administration of

justice, that an inconvenience should sometimes fall upon an individual, than that the whole system of law should be overturned and endless uncertainty introduced' (Broom's *Legal Maxims*, page 243). To use the language of the Civil Law again; when a matter has once been decided (*transit in rem iudicatam*) it is against the public interest for it to be re-opened (*interest rei publicæ ut sit finis litium*).

"It is an established rule to abide by former precedents, *stare decisis*, where the same points come again in litigation, because the law in that case being solemnly declared and determined, what was before uncertain is now become a permanent rule, which it is not in the breast of any subsequent judge to alter or swerve from according to his private sentiments: he being not delegated to pronounce a new law, but to maintain and expound the old one, *ius dicere, et non ius dare*' (Broom's *Legal Maxims*, p. 109).

"I venture to cite these Civil Law maxims, not only because of the ancient links between the Civil and the Canon Law in the days when men were *Utriusque Iuris Doctores* (of which the Cambridge LL.D. is a shadowy reminiscence), but because they represent a fundamental principle of jurisprudence common to the Canon Law and Civil Law alike.

"I cite them only for the purpose of showing that the binding effect of the Colenso Judgment, as laid down in the Canon Law, is consonant with ordinary legal principles. I found no argument upon them.

"The Colenso Judgment was delivered in 1863, and the Constitution and Canons of the South African Church were not promulgated till 1870. But the Church of this Province dated its existence from the time when Bishop Gray became its first Metropolitan in 1853, when the Dioceses of Grahams-town and Natal were founded.

"We are not concerned with the fact that he did not become a Metropolitan with civil powers at that date, and that the Letters Patent which purported to place him in the same legal position as a Metropolitan of the Established Church were afterwards declared null and void by the very lawyer who had originally drafted them.

"He became *spiritually* and *ecclesiastically* a Metropolitan when his Diocese was sub-divided and the Bishops of Grahams-town and Natal took their oaths of Canonical obedience to him as their Metropolitan. At that date the South African Church became by Canon Law a duly constituted Province in the Holy Catholic Church.

"Dr. Colenso was formally accused of heresy. The Canon Law provides that ecclesiastical judges shall try cases of heresy. The precedent of the Church of England on this point is laid down by the Commission of 1881 on Ecclesiastical Courts in the words: 'The decision whether a point alleged was or was not heretical lay with the Ecclesiastical Judge,' and the same Report states that a case of heresy in England was 'seldom or never entertained by a judge below the rank of a Bishop or in a court lower than the Consistory'.

"I quote from this Report as being on certain points a convenient summary of the Canon Law.

"Dr. Colenso's case was the trial of a Bishop for heresy. Again I quote from the Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission: 'In the history of the early Christian Church are to be found both principle and precedent that such charges and complaints should be tried by a tribunal of the com-provincial Bishops'. This is the course laid down in our present Provincial Canons, and it was the course adopted by Bishop Gray before those Canons were framed. My point is that the whole procedure adopted at the trial of Dr. Colenso was in absolute accordance (1) with the Canon Law of the Catholic Church, and (2) with that laid down in our present Canons. Our present Constitution and Canons were the outcome of our previous existence as a Province of the Catholic Church, and the binding effect of the Colenso Judgment is not affected by the fact that it was delivered *before* our Constitution and Canons were enacted.

"The preliminary Resolutions of 1870, which form the basis of our Constitution, are careful to maintain 'the right of the Bishops of any ecclesiastical Province to meet in Synod by themselves, and to deny (in accordance with the Canon Law) that the presence of others is *essential* to a Provincial Synod'. Upon this basis we accept as binding the resolution of the Provincial Synod of Bishops in 1863, which turned the Colenso Judgment into a formal act of the Synod of the Church of this Province. But we also accept as binding the Colenso Judgment *per se*, as a *res iudicata*, not only as to the *fact* of the deposition of Dr. Colenso for heresy, but with regard to the *statements* decided in detail to be heresy by the judgment of our own highest Ecclesiastical Court. We are also bound to the judgment in detail by the explicit terms of the Third Proviso of our Constitution.

"It is not necessary for us to wait until the Colenso Judgment has been quoted in our Church Courts as a binding pre-

cedent in some future case of similar heresy. It has already passed into our system of Provincial Law (*transit in rem iudicatam*).

"The 34th Canon of the Church of this Province declares that 'if any question should arise as to the interpretation of the Canons or Laws of this Church, or of any part thereof, the interpretations shall be governed by the general principles of Canon Law thereto applicable'.

"There is thus room for the interpretations of the canonist in the Church of this Province, however much those interpretations may have fallen into desuetude in the Mother Church.

"The Canon Law lays down that in the case of a person judged by the Metropolitan, who does not appeal against the judgment within ten days, 'the sentence becomes binding' (*sententia in rem transit iudicatam*) (Gratian, *Deca.* lib. i. tit. vi. 32, and lib. ii. tit. xxvii. 15).

"Even in a question of disputed precedence, it is laid down that a sentence is binding and of permanent authority, if it is not appealed against (*ibid.* lib. ii. tit. xxvii. c. 13). It will be remembered that no appeal was made against the Colenso Judgment, although Bishop Gray invited an appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Dr. Colenso's resort to the Civil Courts was not an appeal against the Judgment, *as such*, but it was with a view to declaring Bishop Gray's *civil* power and coercive jurisdiction as 'Metropolitan by Letters Patent' null and void. It is a good thing that he succeeded in proving this, for the State *per se* cannot create an ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

"In a case of heresy the Ecclesiastical Court is not *making* the laws of the Church, but interpreting them. A definite sentence in a heresy case such as Dr. Colenso's passes into a binding decision, or *res iudicata*, and becomes an authoritative interpretation of the Church's law for the ecclesiastical Province in which it takes place, with regard to the heresies condemned by it. Van Espen thus defines the binding force of a sentence: 'Sententia dicitur ipsa pronuntiatio, sive definitio Iudicis, *finem controversiæ* imponens. Sententia, quatenus decusso appellationis tempore manet, non male quoque *res iudicata* dicatur' (Van Espen, p. iii. t. 9, 1).

"The point made by Van Espen is that the binding decision of the judge *closes the controversy*. The matters which the judge decides to be heresy are no longer open questions, but closed ones. The Convocation of Canterbury, by appointing a Committee of Bishops to investigate the Colenso Judgment in detail, and by adopting the report of that Committee, which

expressed assent to the judgment after this examination, is, in my view, more closely bound to our position with regard to it than the American, Canadian, and Scottish Churches, which accepted it *en bloc*, upon the principle that every Province of the Catholic Church is bound to accept the judgment of another Province in a case of doctrine and discipline, if that judgment stands unaltered by any appeal.

"This principle appears in the Resolution of the first Lambeth Conference of 1867, which was passed as the outcome of the Colenso case. We may conclude that inasmuch as the Church of this Province is bound in *law* to the Colenso Judgment, the rest of the Anglican Communion is bound to it in *equity*, as having implicitly or explicitly accepted it.

"The question may be asked concerning a *res iudicata*, whether fresh facts brought to bear upon a similar case can involve a fresh trial of a *res iudicata* on its merits. The answer is that in a case of heresy, or false opinion, no new facts can be adduced to make an opinion *orthodox* which has been condemned as contrary to the decisions of Councils, Creeds, and Articles. The controversy is closed and cannot be re-opened. It may further be asked whether it is not necessary in such a matter as the Colenso case for the *ipsissima verba* of Colenso to be actually repeated by some other person before the Colenso Judgment can be said to apply to his condemnation. The legal answer to such an allegation as this is very simple.

"If a person who holds a heretical opinion is not to be condemned unless he expresses it in the *exact words* used by another person who has previously been condemned for the *same* heretical opinion, all legal finality is at an end in determining cases of heresy. The law of the Church demands *finality* in cases of heresy, and what is condemned is the heretical *opinion, per se*, which one man may express in one way and another man in another. When the Court of Arches was a true Ecclesiastical Court, the case of *Burder v. Heath* came before it. This was a heresy case, and Dr. Lushington, in giving judgment, observed concerning the authorities quoted to justify the accused, that 'not one of those authorities does that which was required in this case, namely, show that some divine of eminence has held, without reproach from ecclesiastical authority, *doctrines in substance the same* as those Mr. Heath has promulgated'.

"If the proof that 'doctrines in substance the same' were held to be tenable, could procure acquittal from a charge of heresy, it follows *a fortiori* that if a person is shown to hold

‘doctrines in substance the same’ as those held by a condemned and deposed heretic like Dr. Colenso, he is *ipso facto* a sharer in his condemnation. Identity of *opinion*, and not identity of *language*, is regarded in such a case.

“The Colenso Judgment closed a controversy of *opinion* for the Church of this Province ; and those who share the opinions, or *any portion* of the opinions, which Dr. Colenso held, and for which he was condemned, fall under the condemnation of a finally settled judgment of the South African Church.

“A. T. WIRGMAN, D.D.”

Dr. Colenso declined to appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury. He appealed to Privy Council on the basis that the Metropolitan had no jurisdiction over him. The Metropolitan and the Bishops of Grahamstown and the Orange Free State, being the majority of the Bishops of the Province, held the first Provincial Synod of the South African Church after the trial. They acted on the principle that the Bishops of a province form its Provincial Synod, although it is desirable for the representative clergy and laity of the Province to sit with them, as separate *estates*. The Constitution of the Church of the Province of South Africa carefully preserves (by No. V. of the Preliminary Resolutions) the right of the Bishops of the Province to sit in Synod ; and “without affirming that the presence of others is essential to a Provincial Synod,” it provides for the assembling of the houses of clergy and laity with the Bishop to assent to the legislation, for which the Bishops, as having “rightful authority in matters of faith and doctrine,” are finally responsible. This first Provincial Synod passed the following resolution which, with slightly altered wording, afterwards became the Third Proviso of our Constitution : “While the Church in this Province is bound by, and claims as its inheritance, the Standards and Formularies of the Church of England, it is not bound by any interpretation put upon those standards by existing ecclesiastical Courts in England, or by the decisions of such Courts in matters of faith”. The Metropolitan wrote an account of the first South African Provincial Synod to Mr. Keble on 17th December, 1863 : “I forward you a report of our proceedings in a Provincial Synod which we have just held. You will, I trust, approve of all that we have determined upon, saving our resolution about the laity. I do not think, however, that in the position in which we place them, and keeping the Diocesan Synod in its due subordination to the Provincial, we need anticipate evil

Dr. Colenso refused to appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The first Provincial Synod of the South African Church.

The first draft of the Third Proviso.

The Metropolitan's letter to Mr. Keble.

from their presence." Dr. Pusey and Mr. Keble at this time were strongly opposed to the presence of laity in Synods. But their fears have not been justified by results. The Metropolitan proceeded: "I am myself prepared, should a Civil Court thrust Colenso back, not only to cut him off from the Church, but to consecrate another Bishop, if the Church at home and the Colonial Secretary decline to send out another. Will you tell me what you think our duty would be? I have given the judgment which I have done with trembling. The charges touch nearly all the greatest questions of the Christian Faith. I hope I have not *made* doctrine, and I hope I have said nothing to sanction heresy. We have had a difficult duty to discharge. It is one that might have troubled even *you*. We have done our best and spared no labour. May our Lord accept what we have done for the vindication of His Name and Truth. Pray for us that we may be faithful whatever comes upon us, and act wisely and humbly."

It was natural to seek counsel from Hursley Vicarage in times of Church troubles. Mr. Keble, in his old age, became more and more an authority amongst his brethren. Mr. Keble's reply was dated 29th February, 1864:—

"MY DEAR LORD,

Mr. Keble's
reply.

"I am sure we none of us know how to thank you and your Assessors (and I will add your Dean and the other prosecutors) enough for all that you have done in that momentous trial—both matter and manner. . . . Pusey's opinion, written to me on the announcement of the sentence, ran thus:—

Dr. Pusey's
opinion.

"'The Bishop of Capetown . . . does not allow any appeal except to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and I hope that even if made, the Archbishop would not accept it, for it would bring in first his own lay representative, Dr. Lushington, and secondly, the appeal to that infidel Privy Council. Then I understand that he means to fill up the See of Natal. I hope he will do this *in Natal itself*, in presence of the people, so that they might virtually accept the new Bishop. This would embarrass the Privy Council exceedingly. This was the way in the great case of Basilides and Martialis, which S. Cyprian approved without waiting for any appeal.'"

The rest of Mr. Keble's letter is too long to quote. Suffice it to say that the two greatest leaders of the Church in that day, Mr. Keble and Dr. Pusey, spoke of the Colenso trial and judgment with a due sense of its unique importance. We need

hardly draw attention to the strong contrast in which these great men's judgment stands to the remarks of Archbishop Tait's biographers which we have quoted above.

The Provincial Synod dealt with the judgment of the Court by formally making it an Act of Synod ; and the Metropolitan and Bishops issued the following "Pastoral Letter" to the Diocese of Natal :—

" TO THE CLERGY AND FAITHFUL LAITY OF NATAL.

" BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

" We think it our duty to inform you that, after long and anxious deliberation, we have come to the conclusion that your Bishop has not been charged falsely with erroneous teaching ; that he has openly proclaimed opinions which are at variance with the belief of the Church in all ages, and of our own branches of it in particular, and which are, in our judgment, subversive of the Christian Faith. In consequence of this it has been the painful duty of the Metropolitan, with the advice and consent of such other Bishops of the Province as could be conveniently assembled, to deprive him of his office as Bishop of Natal, unless he shall, within a specified time, retract the false teaching which has been condemned. Should he, by God's Grace, be led to see the grievous errors into which he has fallen, and to renounce them, we shall have won back a brother to the Faith, and your Bishop shall be restored to you. Should he refuse to do this, he will no longer have any authority from Christ, or this Church, to bear rule in the Church of Natal, or in any way to minister in Divine Offices ; and the clergy will be released from their vow of canonical obedience to him, and will not be at liberty in any way to recognise him as their Bishop. Let us earnestly pray to God that he may be recovered, and yet again uphold that Faith which he once pledged himself to maintain, but which of late he has sought to overthrow. We are not unmindful, brethren, of the sorrows, anxieties, and perplexities, which have come upon you through the falling away from the Faith of your Chief Pastor. It is our desire to bear you continually in remembrance before the Throne of Grace, that not being tossed to and fro by every wind of vain doctrine, you may stand fast in the Faith which is in Christ Jesus, as that Faith has been held and taught by the Church from the beginning, and may walk worthy of the Gospel of Christ. It is possible that your Bishop may return to Natal before receiving the Metropolitan's judgment. If so, you will remember that the

Pastoral
letter of the
Metropolitan
and Bishops
to the
Diocese of
Natal.

sentence does not take effect until the 16th of April next, when the period of retraction will have expired. Commending you very earnestly to the protection and guidance of God, we are, dear brethren, your faithful servants in Christ,

R. CAPETOWN, *Metropolitan*.

H. GRAHAMSTOWN,

EDWARD, *Bishop (Orange Free State)*.

CAPETOWN, 17th December, 1863.

The Metropolitan's official visitation of the Diocese of Natal.

The Metropolitan determined to visit officially the Diocese of Natal, if Dr. Colenso did not retract by 16th April. On 17th April he left Capetown for Durban, where he was heartily received by Archdeacon Fearn and others. He ordered the sentence of Dr. Colenso's deprivation to be read in all the churches of the Diocese on 31st April.

Position of the Erastian laity.

On 3rd May, the Metropolitan went to Maritzburg. Dean Green and Bishop Gray had not met for nearly fourteen years. They had weighty matters indeed to discuss. The Metropolitan's Journal shows that he was quite unprepared for the bitter outburst of Erastianism in Natal, which was so soon to take place. He seems to have satisfied himself that most of the laity repudiated Dr. Colenso's teaching. But that was not the point at all. The Erastian Protestants who repudiated his heresies were equally ready to repudiate the Metropolitan's jurisdiction. Their position was what it always had been. "We are *Church and State* men. If the State repudiates Dr. Colenso, and if the Privy Council decides that he has overstepped the mark in his published books, we repudiate him. But we will take no notice of his condemnation by the Church Court of the Metropolitan."

The Metropolitan's Charge.

The Metropolitan says that the Durban laity did not like "Table Mountain Government". He saw the political jealousy of the Natal colonists aroused against him, because, as the Bishop of the "Old Colony," he claimed metropolitanical jurisdiction in Natal. But he did not see that Erastianism in Natal was to prove a far more dangerous foe than Dr. Colenso's heresies. On 18th May, the Metropolitan held his Visitation in the Cathedral, and delivered that famous "Charge," which Mr. Keble said was "like a fragment of the fourth century recovered for the use of the nineteenth". The principles of the Catholic Church are eternal. What was true and just in the fourth century is true for all time, and Mr. Keble well compared the courage and steadfastness of the Metropolitan to that of the great fourth century "Champions of the Faith".

These words of Mr. Keble are made use of by Archbishop Tait's biographers to point a criticism of what they call Bishop Gray's "fiery Charge," and his sweeping "scornfully aside the complications and safeguards of modern Church life . . . whatever the civil power might have to say to the contrary" (vol. i. p. 352). The plain English of which is that Bishop Gray was resolutely opposed to Erastianism, whereas Archbishop Tait was its foremost champion. It was in this spirit that he expressed fears lest the appointment of so moderate a Churchman as Archbishop Longley to the Primacy should cause the Low and Broad Church parties to "lose what they have gained in late years" (*ibid.* p. 273). The *Guardian*, in a leader in its issue of 10th August, 1864, takes a truer view of the Metropolitan's great "Charge". "It is no mere treatise or disquisition read for the fulfilment of the Bishop's professional duties at a triennial meeting of his clergy. It is the statement of a great argument, on which depend issues no less important than the life and liberty of the Church. And the statement comes from one who is avowedly the great actor in the struggle. A character less firm and a temper less ardent would have quailed before the risks and distresses that could not but attend on such a measure as the formal deposition of a Comprovincial Bishop on the score of heretical teaching. Of these distresses no one can foretell the end. But the voice of the Metropolitan rings out as clearly as if there were no legal perils in his path, no machinations of enemies, no lukewarmness of friends to be feared. . . . If the Queen, acting by a select number of Privy Councillors, could reinstate a deposed heretical Bishop in his place, the Church would be in a very much worse position than any other religious society in the British Empire—in so bad a position, indeed, that it would be foolish to expect her members to submit to it. Bishop Colenso would be a State officer without a flock to govern, disowned by his order, and repudiated by the Society which sent him forth. We can hardly believe that he would care to accept so anomalous a position in the forlorn hope of using the authority of his title to give his peculiar views weight. On this contingency, however, it is vain to speculate. At present we have but to congratulate the Bishop of Capetown on the undaunted spirit with which he maintains the liberties of the Church, and the integrity of the Christian Faith."

Archbishop
Tait's
biographers
censure it.

The view of
the *Guardian*.

This estimate of Bishop Gray's "Charge" is all the more significant because the *Guardian* is not always so bold. The accuracy of its definition of the possible action of the Privy

Council, and of Dr. Colenso himself, was painfully verified by the course of events.

Judgment of the Privy Council in Bishop Colenso's case.

Dr. Colenso remained in England whilst his appeal to the Privy Council was pending. Judgment was given on 20th March, 1865, on frankly Erastian grounds, Bishop Gray appearing only under protest. But it cleared the air, and emphasised the freedom of the Colonial Church from the fetters of the State. It decided that "in a settled Colony the ecclesiastical law of England cannot be treated as part of the law which the settlers carried with them from the Mother-country". This decision shows that the "Church of England" cannot exist *legally* out of England, and in consequence of this fact the Royal supremacy does not extend to the un-established Churches of the Anglican Communion. The judgment followed the similar decision in the "Long" case, in declaring the "Letters Patent" of the Metropolitan and Dr. Colenso as alike invalid. Dr. Colenso's oath of canonical obedience to the Metropolitan was as void of civil effect as that of Mr. Long. It was decided that Dr. Colenso had entered into no contract with the South African Church, as a "voluntary religious body" of which Bishop Gray was Metropolitan. The judgment did not say that Bishop Gray was not ecclesiastically a Metropolitan, but it denied that the sentence of deposition had civil effect. Dr. Phillimore puts it very clearly in his comment on this judgment. "The Privy Council decided that the Metropolitan Bishop of Capetown had no coercive jurisdiction over the Bishop of Natal, and the deprivation of that prelate by him was *civilly* null and void" (Phillimore, *Eccl. Law*, vol. ii. p. 2246).

Dr. Phillimore's interpretation of the judgment.

The true meaning of "civilly null and void".

Erastian view that the Metropolitan's judgment was "quashed".

Dr. Phillimore's phrase "civilly null and void" must be borne in mind as the key to the situation created by the Privy Council judgment. *Summum ius, summa iniuria*. The Royal supremacy, as expressed through the Privy Council, reinstated "a deposed heretical Bishop," to use the phrase of the *Guardian*, and left the Anglican Church in the Colonies in a far worse position than that of any other religious body capable of exercising just discipline over its members. To Erastians generally the sentence of the Metropolitan was *quashed* by the decision of the Privy Council. To persons who thought with Archbishop Tait, "*civilly* null and void" meant "*ecclesiastically* null and void". It was impossible for minds of this type to recognise that the Catholic Church possesses her own laws, apart from the civil power. The memorable words of the Great Charter, "*Ut Ecclesia Anglicana libera sit, et*

habeat iura sua integra et libertates suas illæsas," are as true of the "Ecclesia Anglicana" to-day, as they were when they were written, in the days before Henry VIII. forced her out of communion with the rest of Western Christendom.

Dr. Colenso and his friends were naturally jubilant at the decision of the Privy Council. They did not understand its full bearings; and Dr. Colenso immediately made up his mind to return to Natal. The letters which follow are most important. The Metropolitan wrote to the Dean, giving his view of the judgment, and clearly asserting that his spiritual office as Metropolitan came from the Church. The letter from the well-known "Palmer on the Church" is deeply interesting, as showing how an old-fashioned "Church and State" man, who had built up a theory of the Royal supremacy on a visionary basis which a Catholic would accept, looked upon the Colenso case. The Natal clergy met at Pinetown on 31st May, as the Metropolitan suggested, and the laity at a subsequent date. *The Pinetown Resolutions* were in substance as follows:—

(i.) A declaration that the clergy received Bishop Gray as Metropolitan notwithstanding the judgment of the Privy Council, and rendered him the same obedience as the clergy of the Province of Canterbury pay to the Archbishop 'until such time as in a Provincial Synod the organisation of the Church of South Africa shall have been settled'. (ii.) An acknowledgment of Dr. Colenso's deposition. (iii.) A petition for the appointment of another Bishop *to be consecrated by the Metropolitan*.

The second letter of the Metropolitan forms a fitting prelude to the admirable "Pastoral letter" of the Dean to the Diocese of Natal, which concludes this chapter.

"BISHOP'S COURT,
"16th May, 1865.

"MY DEAR DEAN,

"This mail will, I believe, carry to you the decision of the Privy Council in the matter of Dr. Colenso's appeal. The substance of it, by general consent, seems to be that the Queen had no right, after granting Constitutional Government to the Cape and to Natal—(1) To create Dioceses in these Colonies. (2) To give ecclesiastical jurisdiction to either Metropolitan or Bishop. (3) That the oath taken by the Suffragan does not confer this jurisdiction, both because it is not binding, having been taken under a misapprehension—and because apparently it would be taken to an unlawful authority; but all this is very obscure. (4) That the Metropolitan and

Dr. Colenso's
return to
Natal.

Important
letters.

Letters from
the Metro-
politan and
others.

Bishop are merely Titulars, *i.e.*, ecclesiastics holding the offices of Metropolitan and Bishop, but without Provinces or Dioceses known to the law—without any jurisdiction or authority over anybody ; the oaths taken to them (save those which were taken, I suppose, while my first Letters Patent were in force) being not binding. (5) Lastly, that my sentence, passed in consequence of the supposed authority conferred upon me by Letters Patent, is null and void in law ; and Dr. Colenso is still a Bishop, not of Natal, but in Natal, without a Diocese, without jurisdiction, with those only of clergy and laity who choose him for their Chief Pastor, for his flock.

“You, and the rest of my brethren of the clergy in Natal, as well as some at least of the faithful laity, will expect that I should, at this crisis in the history of our Church, offer to you the best counsel which it is in my power to give.

“First, however, I would observe that the judgment leaves many points undecided, *e.g.*, deciding as it does that we are not a branch of the Church of England, but only a voluntary religious association in Communion with that Church,—that we are wholly without ecclesiastical law, and stand in no relation to the Archbishop of Canterbury ; it leaves it doubtful whether the resignation of my original See to His Grace was valid in law, and consequently whether my first Letters Patent, and the Diocese legally constituted by them, are not still in existence. Then again, it is contended that the judgment leaves wholly untouched, if it does not recognise, the spiritual sentence given by me ; and that Dr. Colenso, though legally a Bishop, is *in law*, notwithstanding the judgment, wholly without *spiritual* authority. The grounds for believing this are the following. Dr. Colenso was consecrated Bishop by command of the Crown. I was appointed Metropolitan by the same authority. Both stand on the same foundation, and as to legal jurisdiction, neither has any. But both were appointed to spiritual offices by the Church, and can lawfully execute all the spiritual functions committed to them by the Church. The spiritual sentence, so far as it is spiritual, some say, is not denied by the civil Court. I do not myself venture to affirm an opinion one way or the other, or lay any great stress upon the point. Of course, however, I claim, and the Church at home, I am told, is prepared to admit the claim, that my deposition of Dr. Colenso from the spiritual office is valid. I do so on the grounds I have so often stated. The Church appointed me Metropolitan as it did Dr. Colenso Bishop. All the Bishops of England, and all the Colonial Bishops in Eng-

land, were called together by Archbishop Sumner to consider this and other questions. They decided that there should be Provinces formed, a Metropolitan placed over them, and that Capetown should be the Metropolitan See of South Africa. The Crown concurred, and attempted to give coercive jurisdiction; but this is now declared to have been *ultra vires*. But the Church's commission remains. Her right to give spiritual mission must be acknowledged, if her religious liberties are not denied. What Romanists or Wesleyans could do, she could do. I am then still your Metropolitan as much as Colenso is Bishop, but I have no jurisdiction or power over you, nor has he. Our spiritual power was derived from our Lord, through His Church. Mine was to judge him, and I have judged him. The sentence is not binding by human law. It is by Divine.

"But what are we to do? This is the great question. That a crisis has arrived in the history of our Church, and especially in that of Natal, is clear. It is also clear that as the burden and responsibility of action has hitherto been a joint one—now the chief responsibility of choosing a course rests with you. The question now is—Will you, by accepting Dr. Colenso for your Bishop, and by your recognition of him, separate from the Communion of the Church of England? The choice must be made. Neither we in Africa, nor the Church at home, can hold Communion with him, or with any that join his Communion. He is not thrust upon you by the State. The Court merely pronounces him *a* Bishop, and leaves it to the clergy and laity to say whether he shall be *their* Bishop or not.

"My earnest counsel to you as the senior clergyman in the country, filling the highest position in it, is to gather the clergy around you, and if you can, also representatives from the laity, that you may decide upon the course which you ought to adopt. You can then read to them, if you will, this letter, and the extracts from letters of men of the highest *status* and greatest learning in the Church at home, understanding that I can only show you these confidentially, and that you are not at liberty to publish them.

"With one consent, you will observe, all concur in the opinion that your duty as true and loyal members of a Church in Communion with the Church of England, is to stand aloof from, and refuse the heretic condemned by the universal voice of the Church, and elect a Bishop for yourselves. I most earnestly unite in this recommendation. How the Church at home is prepared to act, may be gathered not only from the

extracts which I enclose, but from the unanimous decision of the Colonial Bishops' Council, that they will not pay him any stipend, unless forced by a Court of law to do so. The decisive moment for action for you, and for your Church, has arrived. May God grant you both to 'perceive and know what things you ought to do, and also grace and power faithfully to fulfil the same'.

"Supposing, as I believe it will be, that you, or the majority of you, come to the conclusion that you will organise yourselves into a Church, and elect a Bishop, there will be several points for consideration. First, you will remember that the question of endowment is very uncertain. That may be given by the Court of Chancery to Dr. Colenso. Though, therefore, I have myself no doubt that the Mother Church will provide a moderate income for any Bishop whom you may elect, you cannot overlook the present uncertainty of a provision.

"Of course you have the unfettered choice; but it is right that I should say that the Canons of the Church make the consent of the Bishops of the Province necessary; indeed without it there could be no Consecration. The confirmation of the appointment of Bishops always takes place in England.

"You will observe that some of the letters recommend me to name some one in particular for the office. I have not the least wish to influence you in behalf of any. Out of Natal there are only four clergy in Africa whom I think fitted for the office, the Dean of Capetown, Archdeacon Merriman, Archdeacon Badnall and Archdeacon Thomas. All these have eminent gifts and graces; but I do not think that any one of them could well accept the office, seeing that they all have large families, and no private means. I am bound, however, to say that I do not think that there is one of them, who if he felt he were truly called, would shrink from the burden and the sacrifice.

"There is one clergyman concerning whom a leading member of the Church at home has written to me, saying that he felt so deeply the forlorn and sad condition of Natal, that, if called, he would be ready to give up a good living in England, and come out. He is the Rev. W. J. Butler, vicar of Wantage; and he has private means. I know something of Mr. Butler. He is a man of considerable ability and energy, and of most winning manners. His parish has always struck me as one of the most remarkable in England—church restored—parsonage rebuilt—schools erected—penitentiary established—home for the education of female servants founded—during his in-

cumbency. I do not myself know enough of him to say whether he has every gift and grace needed for your trying and difficult post ; but I think that he has very many, and I believe that in learning and in ability he would prove to be quite a match for Dr. Colenso.

"The question as to whether he should be consecrated here or in England, might be left undecided. I do not know enough of the state of the law to say whether he could be consecrated there. You might think it right to address the Archbishop, expressing your determination to abide by the grace of God in the faith of Christ and in the Communion of the Church ; and you might, if you saw fit, elect clergy and laity to represent you in any future Synod of the Province. I do not wish at this early day to state positively what course I shall adopt with a view to the organisation of the Church in this whole country ; but the Canons point to the Provincial Synod. If we meet by representation, we must vote by Dioceses and not by individuals, in order to give due weight to St. Helena and Natal, who could not send many to represent them. I need not tell you, my dear Dean, that I shall continue to pray earnestly to our God that in this our time of trial He may give us a right judgment in all things.

"Believe me ever, Dear Dean,

"Faithfully yours,

"R. CAPETOWN."

LETTER FROM REV. W. PALMER, M.A., WORCESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD.

"WHITCHURCH CANONICORUM,
7th April, 1865.

Letter from
Rev. W.
Palmer to the
Metropolitan.

"MOST REV. FATHER IN GOD,

"You will, I feel assured, pardon the liberty I take in expressing to you the sentiments of gratitude to the Almighty, and of rejoicing on your behalf, and for the whole Church, with which the recent proceedings in the case of the ex-Bishop of Natal have impressed me.

"I may, by possibility, be known to you by name as one who has vindicated the Episcopate of the English Church against Dr. Wiseman, and as the author of a 'Treatise on the Church' and of 'Origines Liturgicæ' and some other works in defence of our common Church and faith.

"It may not at this moment be uninteresting to you to learn the view I take of the recent occurrences, regarded in a spiritual and ecclesiastical sense. I beg then to express my

most decided and unhesitating opinion, as one who has given very great attention to this class of subjects,—that your position is perfectly unassailable,—that your powers and jurisdiction, and those of the whole African Church, are free from all difficulties in a spiritual sense,—and that the Church of England has received and will receive from you and from the African Church, the most profound and lasting benefits.

“My principles are these—The spiritual jurisdiction of the Christian Church, as well as its Creed, were delivered to the Church itself by Jesus Christ our Lord. The State received no such trust and no such powers. When the State became Christian, the Church allowed it a due degree of influence in various respects;—but all acts of the State or the Crown in spiritual matters *emanate* (as far as concerns their obligation in a Christian sense) *from the co-operation, sanction, and concurrence of the Church.*

“The Crown in England summons Synods, appoints Bishops, and does other analogous acts,—such as hearing appeals; but its right emanates, in a Christian and spiritual sense, from the consent and sanction of the Church. Were such sanction withdrawn, no Bishop could be appointed by the State in England. The Parliament of England, or the Crown without the Parliament, could not make a Bishop,—nor constitute a See,—nor create a Metropolitan jurisdiction, except by force of a tacit or express consent of the Episcopate, Clergy and Laity of the Church.

“It is, then, the consent and concurrence of the Church, and that alone, that renders all spiritual acts, and spiritual jurisdiction, valid and Canonical. In fact, ecclesiastical history shows throughout that every kind of irregularity is removed by the Church’s consent. The Sees of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch and others innumerable, can only establish a succession of Bishops by the consent of the Church at large. There have been uncanonical elections, intrusions, simoniacal elections,—yet all irregularities have been dispensed with by general acceptance and consent, which has supplied jurisdiction which otherwise would not have existed.

“Now to apply this principle. The African Bishops and Metropolitan jurisdiction were instituted by acts of the Crown, now proved illegal. But they were approved of and accepted by the whole Episcopate, and all Churches of the English Communion. Therefore they had everything necessary to create full spiritual jurisdiction. The late Bishop of Natal was therefore duly appointed,—the whole African jurisdiction was

equally valid and canonical. The African Synod possesses, according to the rules of the Church, subject to its Metropolitan, the indisputable right to try, and depose, Bishops who may apostatise from the faith. You accordingly proceeded regularly to condemn and depose Dr. Colenso, and the See of Natal (duly and rightly constituted) is now regularly vacant. You have, in conjunction with the Synod of South Africa, full and unquestionable authority to make such common regulations as shall be requisite for the election of a Bishop to the vacant See, and to consecrate such Bishop. You have also a full and unquestionable right to separate from your Communion and from that of the African Church by excommunication, all who hold communion with Colenso as a Christian or as a Bishop.

"I merely state my positive convictions as to your powers. But I would add my hope that the See of Natal may be shortly filled up. I feel this hope, not so much in the interest of the African Church, as in that of the mother Church of England. Because an act of this kind is the only reparation that Christianity can offer, for the infinite disgrace and injury done to the cause of God by the open apostasy and deadly animosity to the Truth of another Judas—one who, raised to the supreme guardianship of that Faith which descended from Heaven, has, to the astonishment of the whole world, become the assailant of the only foundations on which religion rests. The disgrace in which these most fearful acts have involved the Church of England, is extreme. Roman Catholics and other opponents triumph in our distress, and attempt to seduce our people by pretending that infidelity is the necessary result of our religion; while infidelity itself exerts all its efforts to obtain a distinct recognition, as sanctioned and allowed by the Church. In the University of Oxford a great struggle has been made to recognise and establish an open infidel in a Professorial Chair. This attempt has been providentially defeated.

"In South Africa also, the object has been to force an infidel Bishop on the Church. Had this attempt succeeded, had you in Africa betrayed the Christian cause by submitting to this attempt, the Church of England would have been openly allied with infidelity, and its destruction would have been the result. You, most Reverend Father, and the admirable Bishops and Clergy and Church in South Africa, have most wonderfully been enabled to see your duty, and to act upon it, in simple reliance on that mighty arm of God which has supported you and will make you triumphant when all earthly supports fail you. You have vindicated the purity of Christianity. You have

shown the unchangeable steadfastness of faith in the Church of which we are members. Whatever temporal inconveniences you may suffer may be easily remedied. But thanks be to the Divine author of all Truth,—you have contended manfully in His Cause,—and we owe to you the greatest benefit and the greatest service to Christianity that has been rendered in this Church for three centuries.

“ I am, My Lord, your most humble servant,

“ WM. PALMER, M.A.

“ *Late Prebendary of Sarum and Rural Dean.*

“ THE MOST REVEREND
THE METROPOLITAN OF CAPETOWN.”

Letter from
Archbishop
Longley to
Bishop Gray.

EXTRACT OF LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

“ *April, 1865.*

“ I certainly think that the whole Church owes you and your coadjutors on the trial, a deep debt of gratitude for the noble stand you made in defence of Divine Truth.

“ So much as to your course as regards yourself. As to Bishop Colenso, as far as I understand the judgment, it pronounces that he is not Bishop of the Diocese of Natal—for that after the establishment of the Legislative Council in Natal, the Queen had no power *to create a Diocese*. He therefore is not Bishop of the Diocese of Natal, if I am right in my view, and it is quite open to the clergy of Natal to elect a new Bishop. The Consecration of that Bishop, if duly elected, would follow as a matter of course.”

EXTRACT FROM LETTER FROM BISHOP OF OXFORD.

“ *3rd April, 1865.*

“ But the great matter, I think, is, what are you to do? I have, as you know, been always rather holding you back. But it seems to me now, that the time is come for you to act, and for us at home to be ready to support your action. I think that the first point is to fill the Episcopal seat in Natal with a true man. . . . I should advise you to get the laity and clergy to meet and elect a Bishop. . . . I would have him take his office on condition of being willing to carry out all the Resolutions, Canons, etc.—Diocesan and Provincial—of your own body, and one of them should be to submit himself to your judgment, etc., when need was, *in camerâ*, as completely and in the same degree as he would be bound to do if you had legal jurisdiction as Metropolitan. It seems to me clear that in the present state of

matters action must come from you ; and this seems to me your mode of acting ; and in this I trust we should, from home, effectually support you, acknowledging your new Bishop and utterly disallowing the traitor.

"I suppose that *when* you have got a new Bishop elected, you might go with great hope to your courts for the property out there."

EXTRACT OF LETTER FROM REV. J. KEBLE.

"3th April, 1865.

"I think that whether or no there be energy enough among us to declare *beforehand* that we will support you, in point of fact we shall be found on your side when the thing is done, *provided you meet with the expected support in the Diocese*. Everybody seems to feel that the Privy Council, in annulling the claims of Capetown, as far as they depend on human law, virtually annuls those of Natal likewise, and of most of the Colonial Sees, and therefore leaves the matters to be settled by the Churchmen in the different Dioceses. Now my prayer and hope is—(1) That this may be effectually and openly recognised by the authorities in England. (2) That the will of Natal may be openly and fully ascertained:—that of Capetown is ascertained beyond a doubt. (3) That so much of Natal as may wish to continue (what it has supposed itself hitherto) a See in the Province of Capetown, may be allowed to elect its own Bishop, and the Metropolitan to consecrate him. (4) That the Metropolitan with his Suffragans may freely exercise the prerogative inherent in them, of censuring, and, if need be, excommunicating any heretic, Bishop or other, who may be troubling the Church within the Province, after due process according to the Canons. (5) All of course subject to the Courts temporal, in respect of any temporal wrong which may occur. (6) That these arrangements and their results, be formally communicated to the whole Episcopate in communion with the Anglican Church, with a view to mutual recognition and united action."

Letter from
Mr. Keble to
Bishop Gray.

EXTRACT OF LETTER FROM REV. DR. PUSEY.

"It is of moment that you should organise yourselves, enacting for yourselves, and without any reference to the Colonial Judicature, just as if you lived under Nero. In this way you and the Bishops of St. Helena and Grahamstown would form a Church of South Africa, and then you might

Letter from
Dr. Pusey to
Bishop Gray.

consecrate a Bishop of Natal. It is a nice legal question whether your first patent is valid, as you resigned it only for one invalid. If it is, Natal is in your Diocese, *i.e.*, the original Diocese of the Cape. If not, there is no such Diocese and indeed no legal Diocese at all. This seems to me to open your way exceedingly, in that you and the other African Bishops are quite free from the State. You will remember what S. Cyprian describes as a Canonical consecration in the case of the successors of Basilides and Martialis (deposed); that they consecrated two in the presence of the people, so that the people should have a right to object. It will be of the extremest value to have the appointment (whether the Diocese of Natal send one to be consecrated, or whether the Bishops of South Africa consecrate one with their consent) so made as to carry them with you. Dr. Colenso has oddly destroyed his own Episcopate. He had no hold but the State; and now he has, by his suit, occasioned the State to declare his patent too invalid. So that he is a deposed Bishop without a See."

THE METROPOLITAN'S LETTER TO THE DEAN, GIVING HIS
COUNSEL ON THE RESOLUTION OF THE LAY DELEGATES
MEETING ON ST. PETER'S DAY, 1865.

"DEAR MR. DEAN,

Second letter
from the
Metropolitan
to Dean
Green.

"I beg to acknowledge receipt of the Resolution passed at a late meeting of lay delegates, publicly convened 'to assist the clergy with their counsel and their prayers, in the present "crisis of the Church"' ;—and to assure you that I will, as the meeting has desired, 'first take counsel with the other Bishops of South Africa, and then solicit the opinion of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury' on the questions which you have submitted for consideration.

"In the meantime, I venture, as your resolution appears to desire, to offer you, amidst your present anxieties, such counsel as I am able to give.

"This, I apprehend, must now be clear to all who have carefully considered the late judgment—that there is no *legal* connexion whatever between the Church of England and the Churches in our Colonial possessions. The Letters Patent sought to effect such connexion by bringing the Metropolitans of Provinces, by law, into relationship with, and subordination to the Archbishop of Canterbury. It is now declared that they have failed to effect this; and consequently it has been decided by the Government, under the advice of the law officers of the Crown, that no more Letters Patent shall be

issued. The Bishop of Rupert's Land has just been consecrated without Letters Patent ;—and the Bishop of Nelson is about to be so. In both cases their predecessors were consecrated under Letters Patent. No more Letters Patent will ever be issued for Bishops in South Africa.

“So far as *law* is concerned the Colonial Churches are cut adrift from the Church of England ; and the laws of the Church of England are indisputably not laws for the Colonial Churches. Nothing can be plainer than the language of the judgment on this point.

“In heart, in affection, in faith, in discipline, indeed, these Churches, though in the eye of the law merely voluntary associations, are still one with the Church of England ; and the problem they have to solve is, how they shall unite themselves with her by such bonds as the Letters Patent sought, but failed, to provide :—how they shall give legal effect to that system, pointed out in the Letters Patent, which the Church and Crown united in devising for the maintenance of unity between themselves and the Mother Church ? Dr. Colenso, in a document drawn up by his counsel in the late suit, which he has addressed to the clergy and laity of Natal, and prepared in order to establish a basis for a jurisdiction for himself, which the late judgment of the Privy Council has utterly demolished, thinks that this unity may be established by the recognition of him as Bishop. He states his case in this way. He argues that the clergy have contracted with him at their ordination, or appointment to their several cures ; and that he, in consequence, in accordance with what was decided in the Long case, has thereby acquired jurisdiction over them. He claims that he has received ‘not from the Crown, but from their consent, an authority and jurisdiction, “extending even to the power of deprivation”’ ; that the terms of the contract are, that both shall be governed by the Church of England ; and that the Judicial Committee of Privy Council is to be the final Court to try all disputes between them. That is the platform which he has set up. But the theory breaks down immediately that you begin to apply it. Mr. Long was held to be subject to the Bishop's jurisdiction, not only by virtue of his oath at ordination, but because he had accepted a licence to officiate, subject to revocation for just cause ;—and by accepting a living under a deed which expressly provided for his removal (Judgment, p. 15).

“But where is the contract here ; and how many of the clergy have made any contract ? It is believed that scarce a

single clergyman has applied for, or accepted, a licence from Dr. Colenso;—that the only clergy who have in any way contracted with him are those ordained by him. And what is the nature of their contract? It is entirely based upon the provisions of the ‘Letters Patent’. Those are the only written documents which explain its conditions, or by which it is to be interpreted. These were published by Government here and in Natal, in the *Government Gazette*, by order of the Crown, for the information of all who desired to join the Church. They contained the avowed terms of contract between the Church of England and the daughter Church—the Metropolitan, the Bishop, the clergy and the laity.

“The clergy contracted with Dr. Colenso upon the avowed understanding that he was capable of being tried and deprived by the Metropolitan, with an appeal only to Canterbury. That was an essential part of their contract. In the terms of that contract he has been tried and deposed; and they released from all obedience to him. The law, however, says that he could not contract to surrender his ‘Letters Patent,’—that the Crown could not give the Metropolitan the power to cancel such a document, and that consequently he holds it still.

“Upon this, he feels justified, notwithstanding his oath taken to the Metropolitan, both at his Consecration, in which the Metropolitan joined, before the issue of his ‘Letters Patent,’ and afterwards, a second time, when they were issued,—in refusing to vacate his office.

“But if so, how can the clergy be held to be under any obligation to him?

“They engaged to obey him, solely upon the understanding that, as they were liable to be tried by him, so he was in turn liable to be tried by the Metropolitan; that there might be some security both for their liberty, and for his soundness in the Faith. If he is not liable to be tried by the Metropolitan, if he has appealed elsewhere than to Canterbury,—the terms of the contract are broken and it is vitiated.

“If this be the case with regard to contracts, what is the actual state of the Church of Natal? This. Dr. Colenso may be a Bishop; but he is a Bishop without a Diocese,—without clergy, or jurisdiction; and nothing can give him power over the Church but a fresh act of recognition of him on the part of the clergy and the laity. I will add that nothing can rescue the Church from its present position in all our Colonies, as a body without laws, but the acceptance of such of the laws of

the Church of England, by its clergy and laity, as are suited to its position, or the enactment of others,—as well as the election, or acceptance of Bishops to whom the clergy undertake to render obedience. In the midst of such a state of things, the Church in Natal has shown by its decision, when gathered by representation in the Cathedral at Maritzburg, a desire to elect a Bishop for itself, and thereby lay the foundation of a system and government which shall preserve for it the Faith as it has received it, if thereby it should act in no undutiful spirit towards the Church of England;—and the question which it desires to have solved is,—Can it do this without a violation of duty either to the Crown or to the Church of England? My own belief is, that not only would there be no violation of duty to either,—but that duty to the Crown,—duty to the Church,—and duty to the Great Head of the Church,—alike requires them to do this.

“My reasons are these;—First as to the Crown. The intention of the Crown, in issuing ‘Letters Patent,’ was (no one disputes it) that these should give a power of trying an heretical Bishop in the way that Dr. Colenso has been tried. But the Crown is now advised by great lawyers (one of whom, the Lord Chancellor, had a chief hand in drawing up these very Letters Patent, and with whom I had, at the time, an interview on the subject), that it has exceeded its powers; that it could not confer the right on one holder of ‘Letters Patent,’ to cancel the ‘Letters Patent’ of another; and so the decision of the Metropolitan is *in law* null and void. The spiritual relationship of the Metropolitan to the Suffragan is not questioned. His spiritual rights and authority are not touched. They are even recognised (page 6, sect. 2). How does the Crown act upon this announcement? It resolves that it will issue no more ‘Letters Patent,’ except in those cases (if there be such), in which it can confer jurisdiction. The Church in the Colonies shall be left unimpeded to carry out its discipline according to the powers inherent in its various offices. While Letters Patent seemed to help, they were granted. Now that they prove a hindrance, they are discontinued.

“The Crown has not shown the slightest desire to force a Bishop upon a Diocese reluctant to receive him. So far from this, it has actually refused to sanction the consecration of the new Bishop of Nelson by the Archbishop, until reference has been made to the Synod of that Diocese, to learn whether they will accept the person named for that office. There cannot

then be the least reason to fear that your Church will be wanting in any duty to the Crown, in declining to receive Dr. Colenso as Bishop, or in electing another in his room.

“But would not this be undutiful to the Church of England? The Church of England deputed to the Metropolitan the power to try, and remove, a Suffragan, and has been in heart with him throughout the whole of these proceedings, as I venture to say from the language of numerous addresses and letters forwarded to me.

“Up to this time it could pronounce no sentence. It would have been interfering with the office of the Metropolitan to do so; and Dr. Colenso has not, even yet, defied, in act, the sentence which has been passed upon him, by returning to Natal and claiming to exercise spiritual functions there. But what it could properly do, it has done.

“It has declared by a solemn decision of the two Houses of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury (i) That the said book¹ does in our judgment ‘involve errors of the most dangerous character, subversive of Faith in the Bible as the Word of God. (ii) That this House having reason to believe that the Book in question will shortly be submitted to the judgment of an Ecclesiastical Court, declines to take further action in this matter at this time: but we affectionately warn those who may not be able to read the published and convincing answers to the work which have already appeared, of its dangerous character’. They thus expressly refrained from any further action, on account of the proceedings about to be taken before the Metropolitan. It has recognised the deposition, not as yet formally, because not formally invited to do so, but in such way as was open to it. As evidence of this, weigh well the following facts:—

“(i) The Colonial Bishopricks Council consists of the whole of the Church of England. They have, since the judgment was pronounced, by which Dr. Colenso retains possession of his Letters Patent and title, unanimously refused to pay him his stipend, on the ground that they recognise his deposition. (ii) The inhibition of the English Bishops, forbidding Dr. Colenso to officiate in their Dioceses, has not been removed since the judgment, as he himself informs us. In a lecture delivered since that time he has said—‘I have been so visited—I may say deluged—with monitions, inhibitions, etc., almost ever since I came to England, that I have scarcely been al-

¹ *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined*, parts 1 and 2, by Right Rev. J. W. Colenso, D.D.

lowed to speak at all. . . . I have submitted, . . . waiting until I could speak all my mind, without fear of check or interruption, in the churches of my Diocese in Africa'.

"The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel having referred the question of their relations with Dr. Colenso to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as President of the Society, and the Episcopal Vice-Presidents—His Grace the Archbishop, in a letter dated 9th February, 1863, advised them, 'that having conferred with his Episcopal brethren, he has come to the conclusion that in consequence of the recent publications of the Bishop of Natal, it becomes necessary for the Society to withhold its confidence from him, until he shall be cleared from the charges notoriously incurred by him, by reason of such publications'.

"In consequence of this, all control over their funds or missionaries in Natal was withdrawn from Dr. Colenso, and has not been restored to him.

"There can be no doubt as to what the mind of the Church of England is. It will never recognise Dr. Colenso as being a Bishop of a Diocese in Communion with it. It means to be faithful to its Lord, and to the Truth. It has not yet been called upon to speak synodically. When your request comes before Convocation, the call will have been made. I have no doubt that it will declare that it is in Communion with the Orthodox Church in South Africa,—and not with Dr. Colenso, or the heretical Church which he may seek to found there. Duty to the Church of England requires that all her faithful members should refuse to hold communion with one who has been adjudged to have utterly fallen away from the faith. It is in cleaving to him that actual separation from the Church of England would consist. I feel sure that no clergyman ordained by him, and recognising his authority, would be received, should he return to England, into the Dioceses of the English Bishops, or be allowed to officiate there.

"But what does duty to our Lord—the great Head of the Church—demand? Consider what is the teaching for which Dr. Colenso has been deposed. It is nothing less than an abandonment of the most vital and essential doctrines of Christianity. I do not recapitulate his denials of the faith here. They are known to all. Has he ever said that he has been misunderstood? Whenever charged with having gradually ceased to be a Christian, and become a Deist—does he express horror at such a charge, and state distinctly what articles of the Christian Faith he still holds? Nothing of the kind. He has

published much, but he has not vindicated himself from these charges. On the contrary, each successive publication contains some fresh denial of the Christian's belief. In his last lecture he denies the existence of the Evil One, declaring it to be a Persian myth, thereby contradicting our Lord's express teaching, and making Him to be either deceived, or a deceiver. Could a Church recognise a teacher of blasphemy for its Bishop without dishonour to Christ, or without being involved in that teacher's apostasy? I think not. And I am persuaded that you will hear from the Church of England that adherence to Dr. Colenso would not only separate you from her Communion, but from Christ also.

"How you are to proceed it is not for me to say. That another must be chosen in the place of him who has fallen is clear, if the Church is to remain a Church.

"Your appeal to Convocation may be the best course to have adopted amidst the difficulties of your position. But I think that, in case its response should be such as I anticipate, you should, that no further time may be lost, point out a way in which your future Bishop shall be chosen, if elected in England. You might ask the two Archbishops, with the addition of one or two other Bishops, or not. And if delicacy in their peculiar position should make action on their part undesirable, you might invite any members of the Colonial Bishops' Council, who hold in trust all our Colonial endowments, or that Council itself, as such, to recommend a man for consecration to the Metropolitan of your Province.

"Praying continually that it may please God to give you all, clergy and laity, at this time of peril to the faith and to the very existence of your Church, wisdom to discern 'what things you ought to do, and also grace and power faithfully to fulfil the same,'

"I remain, dear Mr. Dean,

"Your friend and brother in Christ,

"R. CAPETOWN.

"TO THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF MARITZBURG.

"BISHOPSCOURT, 25th July, 1865."

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH IN THE DIOCESE OF NATAL.

Pastoral letter
from the
Dean to the
clergy and
laity of Natal.

Now that it appears from a letter of Bishop Colenso in the *Mercury*, that he is not only about to return to Natal, but expects to resume his position amongst us as Bishop of this Diocese, and to find us ready to acknowledge him as over us in the Lord, as an Ambassador

of Christ to us, and shepherd of His flock, I must pray you to allow me to say a few words, and to beseech you, in the language of St. John,¹ "to look to yourselves, that we lose not those things which we have wrought, but that we receive a full reward".

Bishop Colenso speaks of a "conflict between the spirit of progress and the traditions of the past"; and tells us, that "he has felt called to take part in this conflict, and to attempt to reconcile the teachings of religion with those which we receive from the various sciences".

Thankful should we be, could we regard his writings in the light in which he looks at them; but whole volumes seem to us to be occupied with discussions which have little or no bearing upon questions of science, but which assail the fundamental truths of Christianity, and the first principles of belief.

These ever have been attacked, and ever will be. But it is written,² "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent". The faith which we preach has been opposed from the beginning to the thoughts and imaginations of men; to the Jew it was a stumbling block, to the Greek foolishness, but to some, the called of God, whether Jews or Greeks,³ it is "Christ, the power of God and the wisdom of God".

It should not, therefore, startle us to find the faith assailed; the New Testament abounds in warnings against heresies and false doctrines, and instructs us how to bear ourselves towards the teachers of them.⁴ But that which does grieve and startle us, is to find that he, "whose faith we should have followed, considering the end of his conversation, Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever,"⁵ has turned to another Saviour, which is not another, and offers to lead us *to the Christ that is to be*.⁶ Who will follow him in such a search? Are there not many who can say to Jesus of Nazareth, from their own souls' experience, "Thou hast the words of eternal life"? But, alas! all cannot, for our Lord told us, "There are some that believe not". God grant that the number may be few amongst us; and may they too be enabled, if they seek a Saviour, to go after no "Christ that is to be"; after no false Christ, for we are told that such shall come and deceive many; but be brought back to Him, who is the only mediator between God and men, and to know whom is eternal life.

Any apparent discrepancy between the language of the Bible, and the supposed revelations of physical science, ought not to disturb the believer. There are difficulties in revelation, but there [are] also numberless difficulties in nature. Bishop Butler, in his great work on the *Analogy of Religion*, dwelt upon this point, arguing that, as there

¹ 2 Ep. St. John, ver. 8.

² 1 Cor. i. 19.

³ 1 Cor. i. 23 f.

⁴ Rom. xvi. 17; Gal. i. 8, 9; 2 Thess. iii. 6; 2 Ep. St. John, ver. 10.

⁵ Heb. xiii. 7, 8.

⁶ Letter to the Laity. "We may believe that the old traditionary system has been, like the Jewish before it, our schoolmaster, by God's appointment, to bring us to Christ—to the Christ that is to be."

are so many difficulties in nature, we ought to expect them in the kingdom of grace. Each contains difficulties, so that our knowledge will not enable us wholly to reconcile either with itself—shall we then be surprised if we fail, at present, to reconcile them together on every point?

We now know only in part, in physical science we know but very little ; as it is taught to children all seems plain, but the deeper we go into such studies, the more we find that all is based upon hypotheses ; and again, that the conclusions which the mathematician draws from these, are avowedly but approximations to the truth.

Sir C. Lyell, a very eminent geologist, is said to have lately declared in public, that all the assumed foundation facts of geology have been given up by him, as untenable and disproved. We are at a loss, then, at the first stage. Let these facts, however, be decided by geologists, then the first step only has been taken ; the mathematician must next master, far more perfectly than he yet has done, the laws of electricity, magnetism, heat, etc., before he can calculate from these facts the age of the earth, or determine, scientifically, any principles of geology.

The geologist, the chemist, the experimenters in every department of natural philosophy, are, in these days, accumulating numerous and wondrous facts ; so doing, they are collecting the materials ; to build the fabric is a more difficult task.

Facts may seem to many to point to conclusions at variance with Holy Scripture ; and tempted by this appearance, men may fall into unbelief. We are warned, however, against¹ “oppositions of science falsely so called” ; and science, as it exists now, is falsely called science, if it pretends to speak with more than a child’s tongue ; it cannot assume the firm accents of manhood.

Still, I must add, if the facts of science lead some to doubt, they confirm others in believing. It was in the rooms of one (Mr. Hopkins), who twenty-two years ago was, and long had been, the principal tutor in Cambridge, that I learned to see, not the opposition, but the harmony between physical science and religion. I know that He whom we preach can be seen in the works of nature, and I would that all might behold Him there, as, led by the casual but beautiful remarks of my tutor, I learned to behold Him ; for such a vision has been to me, through life, an inexpressible comfort, and a strong support in the hour of temptation.

Bishop Pearson, in his imperishable work on the Creed, taught us to recognise in nature the doctrine of the resurrection. The student in natural philosophy can pursue this investigation much further through the realms of creation, and only be more and more confirmed in this, the great hope of the Christian. Let a man study astronomy, and the theories of light and heat, and electricity, and he will rise therefrom persuaded of the truth of the Christian doctrine, that God governs not only by general laws, but is the personal God, the God

¹ 1 Tim. vi. 20.

of individuals, numbering the hairs of their head, and ordering their steps, that they dash not their feet against a stone. Geology speaks of death upon the earth, and records its fearful ravages ; but pass from the earth to the universe, and the traces of death are at once lost, all speaks of ever-recurring periods returning again and again through an endless eternity.

Such studies are pleasing and profitable, but I cannot, with Bishop Colenso, call them "the greatest work in which a man can be engaged". All converse with God is exalting, but He has vouchsafed to us a nearer access to Him than these studies afford, an access by the way of faith and holiness.

It must be remembered, however, that Bishop Colenso was not tried for peculiar opinions on such subjects,—far different and far heavier were the charges brought against him, and which caused him to be deposed. The charges were nine in number ; and I will enumerate them, for it is important that every one should know distinctly why it is we are forbidden to acknowledge Dr. Colenso as our Bishop.

The charges were these :—

1. Unsound doctrine respecting the atonement.
2. Unsound doctrine respecting justification.
3. Unsound doctrine respecting the sacraments.
4. Unsound doctrine respecting the endlessness of future punishment.
5. Teaching that the Bible only contains, but is not, the word of God.
6. Unsound doctrine respecting the inspiration of the Bible.
7. Denying the authority, genuineness, and truth, of certain parts of the Bible.
8. Maintaining that our most blessed Lord was in error.
9. Depraving and impugning the Book of Common Prayer.

All these charges were declared to be proved. That Bishop Colenso tried to believe as we do, I will not deny ; that, as he says, it cost him pain to come to the conclusions he has arrived at, why should we doubt ? but having arrived at them, he is not of us. The rich young man turned away very sorrowful ; still he turned away. Our Lord also was sorry. And though Bishop Colenso and we can walk no more together, it does not follow that to know that we cannot does not give pain.

Our Lord says, "I have given them Thy word," "Thy word is truth".¹ Bishop Colenso calls in question the truth of our Lord's words ;² we therefore are not, cannot be one.

Bishop Colenso states that, "whatever our Lord did, He did not die in our stead"³ "He did not bear the weight of the curse ;"⁴ but we believe that He did. That He did, is that article of our faith which every penitent soul clings to with its whole strength ; a faith

¹ St. John xvii.

³ *Com. on Ep. to Rom.* p. 115.

² On the *Pentateuch*, Part I., xxx. xxxi.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 133.

from which it cannot part and live. Can we, then, whose faith is so at variance, have fellowship together? A chasm, wide and deep, has opened out between us. Could the Bishops do less than depose him? Can we, if faith is more than a form of words with us, not "contend earnestly for that faith?" Shall we, with the Laodiceans, be utterly lukewarm, until, for our indifference, Christ "shall spue us out of His mouth".¹

Though deposed by the Church, Bishop Colenso still claims to exercise his office; but what does he do to reassure us that he now holds the truth as it is in Jesus?

When, in the beginning, a doubt arose about the observance of the Jewish law, the Apostles, though inspired, did not individually determine that question, but came up to Jerusalem to confer together, with prayer and invocation of the Holy Ghost;—from that hour onwards, the practice of the Church has been the same; as questions, from time to time, have risen, they have been resolved by the Bishops meeting in council. With whom has Bishop Colenso taken counsel?

St. Paul tells us that, when he went up to Jerusalem,² "he communicated to them which were of reputation, that Gospel which he preached among the Gentiles, lest by any means he should run, or had run in vain;"—wondrous humility in one who had been taught the Gospel, not by men, but by direct revelation from Christ, who had shown Himself to him, as to "one born out of due time".

Is this example to be no precedent? Are we, who learn of men, to be more confident than the Apostle? Yet, I ask again, with whom has Bishop Colenso taken counsel? Who has given him letters of commendation to us?

On the other side, let us inquire how the Church of England, through her length and breadth, has acted. The Bishops of England and Ireland, observing the Apostolic practice, came together to consider of this matter; having taken counsel, they called upon Bishop Colenso to resign his high office. A newspaper before me, in an article written at the time, in reference to that meeting, speaks of the experience of one Bishop, the learning of another, the impartiality of a third, the zeal of a fourth, the piety again of a fifth,—to this we may add their ripeness of age, and the well-known fact, that they are not all of one school in theology, but represent the different shades of thought within the Church, "in all, working that one, and the self-same spirit, dividing to every man severally as He will".³ If Bishop Colenso could not yield his judgment to such a body, he might have rendered to it submission; but no, he would not: he does not refer to this in his letter, but we, to whom it is said, "Take heed how ye hear," must be alarmed, and expect him, when he addresses us, asking for our confidence, to show first that he no longer lies under the weight of a rebuke so heavy and so unusual.

Caring for the flock, "over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers," the Bishops went further, they imposed silence upon him;

¹ Rev. iii. 16.

² Galat. ii. 2.

³ 1 Cor. xii. 11.

and in no one Diocese, in no one church, has Bishop Colenso been suffered to exercise his ministry. If there is any fellowship, any unity of the Spirit, how can we claim to be received as members of the Church, if we acknowledge him, whom the Bishops of the Church suffer not to speak?

But they proceeded yet further. When they met the clergy in Convocation, both houses joined in resolutions, warning the Church against his writings. The House of Bishops resolves—

1. That the said book does, in our judgment, involve errors of the gravest and most dangerous character, subversive of faith in the Bible as the Word of God.

2. That this House, having reason to believe that the book in question will shortly be submitted to the judgment of an ecclesiastical court, declines to take further action in the matter; but that we affectionately warn those, who may not be able to read the published and convincing answers to the work which have already appeared, of its dangerous character.

The Lower House replies—

That it does hereby accept and concur in the judgment of the Upper House that the book involves errors of the gravest and most dangerous character, subversive of faith in the Bible as the Word of God; and that this House does further concur in the affectionate warning of the Upper House against the dangerous character of the book.

Some may say, yet, after all, these are but words, they do not bring the question to a distinct issue; let me ask, what more did our Saviour do? He said, "he that hath ears to hear, let him hear". Hereafter shall be the judgment, whether we have heard or not; but now that He would save men "by the foolishness of preaching," earthly weapons are not placed in our hands. When the Church has prevailed, it has been by her ministers going about preaching the word with all boldness, rebuking and exhorting with all authority, trusting to the power of the Word to pierce the soul; when she has leant upon earthly weapons, then her work has languished.

The Church has done what our Lord did: He spake, and the believing heard, rose up and followed Him. The Church has spoken, and God grant that we may have grace to hear and to obey. Let us not alone be unfaithful when others have done their part; when the whole body is compacted by that which every joint supplies, it increases, edifying itself in love.¹ To be thus compacted, it only remains that we do that which is required of us. The Bishops of England and Ireland inhibited Bishop Colenso within their Dioceses; the Convocation of Canterbury, within which province the books were published, censured them; the Bishops of South Africa, presided over by the Metropolitan, tried him and deposed him; I must not omit to mention, also, the numerous addresses from archdeaconries in England, and from synods in Scotland, Canada, and from other parts of the empire, either deprecating the teaching of Bishop Colenso, or

¹ See Eph. iv. 16.

thanking the Metropolitan for the sentence pronounced. These addresses are not judgments, but they gather round the judgment, adding their testimony; they are joints, compacting the body by that which they supply. Thus every joint has lent its aid, at least all but one; and now, it would seem that, in the wisdom of God, Bishop Colenso is being suffered to return, to try us, whether we also can do our part. God grant that we may be able.

Through many an age, in every land, the deposit of the faith has not been preserved without much suffering at the hands of men; our forefathers have not entered into rest without enduring many things; but in this case, Bishop Colenso, having appealed to the civil power, has been plainly told that, in the eyes of the law, the Church is a voluntary association in this land; no external force, therefore, compels us to receive him, and the Church forbids it. Even in regard to the clergy, the opinion of his own lawyers is, on a case put before them by himself, "that the relations between the Bishop of Natal and his clergy must be treated only as questions affecting the rights to the use of the church and church property"; but what those rights are they do not say.

This then is all; and even this is expressed with hesitation, and further, is but an *ex parte* opinion.

Bishop Colenso writes as if the sentence of deposition had been removed; but who has attempted to do this? He sought to crush the court which deposed him, but the Privy Council only replied that certain Acts of Parliament hindered the Crown from conferring upon it a jurisdiction which the law could enforce. The Privy Council did not call in question the fact of its being a Christian court, acting under that solemn charter granted by our Lord when on earth (see St. Matt. xviii. 15, 20), established by that awful declaration, "Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven". [Mark the plural number; and, if you turn to the history of the Church, you will find that her canons have ever required that two or three be gathered together to hear every cause; and, in the case before us, this condition was not wanting, two Bishops assisted the Metropolitan.] It was no human tribunal, it derived no authority from the Crown of England, but was clothed with far higher sanctions; and its sentence binds all who are members of Christ, children of God, and heirs of the Kingdom of Heaven.

Still some, tenderly anxious to show forbearance, ask if another trial cannot be allowed, pointing out how frequently Bishop Colenso expresses his readiness to be heard before the Queen's Privy Council, declaring that he would bow to the decision of a competent tribunal.

If piety and spiritual learning, and a commission from on high, can render men competent, are not these qualities to be found in the Bishops of England? and they have spoken. Few would deny that these qualities exist in a high degree in the Convocation; and Convocation has spoken. None can read the addresses of those who appeared before the Bishops assembled at Capetown, nor their

Lordships' judgment, and say that ought was wanting to give weight to their words.

This craving for one more sign, one additional evidence, characterised men in the days of our Lord ; but we know that He did not gratify their longing : still they persevered with their demand to the end, calling upon Him to come down from the cross, saying that then they would believe ; as if they, who had seen Lazarus raised, and believed not, would have been persuaded by the lesser wonder of loosening the nails.

Let the learning and character of the judges of the Privy Council be what they may, they cannot impart to their judgment a spiritual sanction ; that attaches only to the voice of the Church, and that has been heard in this case again and again.

But let this pass for a moment, and let us see what is this call to be heard before the Privy Council. That court is a court of appeal ; therefore, in order that a case may be heard there, it must first be tried in some inferior court ; but what court will Bishop Colenso recognise, and consent to be tried therein in the first instance ? I know of none.

He has been tried and deposed ; the Bishops who pronounced sentence cannot appeal against their own judgment, nor can the clergy who pleaded for such sentence complain that it has been given. Bishop Colenso, and he only, could have appealed, but he did not do so. He preferred to petition to have the sentence set aside : but the Privy Council has decided that the Church is a voluntary association, and can act as such. The clergy of this Diocese have accepted the judgment, and have publicly refused to acknowledge Bishop Colenso ; the sentence, therefore, is not null nor void, it is acted upon, and he is affected thereby : let him therefore appeal—we cannot, having pledged ourselves to obey it. We do not doubt the authority of the court, nor the equity of the proceedings, nor the justice of the sentence—how, therefore, can we appeal ?

The State stands aloof ; but a Bishop of the Church, the clergy, and the laity, ought to hear the Church. I say ought, because the Church has ever held and taught, that we derogate from our Lord's honour, as Prince and Saviour, if we do not hear those whose commissions are from Him, and fall back instead upon the temporal sword. Bishop Colenso apparently holds that, as the State lends no aid, the spiritual sentence may be set at nought. This may bring confusion : he still claims our allegiance ; we refuse it, as he is deposed. We must not make light of difficulties, lest we fall with St. Peter ; nor, again, may we be deterred by difficulties, because the banner of the Church is the Cross, the emblem of suffering and pain, and we know "that it is only through tribulation we can enter into the Kingdom of God" : let us only remember that, alike in prosperity and adversity, our trust must be in Jesus Christ, our Saviour. "In all time of our tribulation, in all time of our wealth, good Lord deliver us."

If any enquire how are we to act ? I answer, "If¹ ye would be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all to stand, ye

¹ Ep. vi. 13.

must take unto you the whole armour of God"; but no single piece nor weapon is of earthly temper. We are not to defend ourselves by the civil law; that is not to be the Christian's shield nor breast-plate; neither is the civil law to be our weapon of attack. Though "the magistrate bears not the sword in vain," the Church may not wield that sword, nor pray him to wield it for her. All feel that the strength of the Church is in the character of her sons, that is, in the presence of the Holy Ghost; not in her wealth, nor in the favour of princes; not in chariots or horses. It is simply required of us that we be found faithful. "Woe unto him that is faint-hearted, for he believeth not, therefore shall he not be defended."¹ Often, when men expect deliverance, they² have to "tarry the Lord's leisure". At other times He so orders things that Pharaoh shall cry,³ "They are entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in," in order that He may make His power known, and compel men to say, "This deliverance is the⁴ Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes".

Before concluding, I would add a few words upon the published letter of Bishop Colenso. Not only do I deeply regret that he should write to us, as our Bishop, and not even allude to his deposition, nor to the sentiments of the Church concerning his teaching; and not only do I dissent from the latter half of his letter, as what I have written above plainly shows; but in the first half, and in the case he lays before his lawyers, there seem to me to be some serious mistakes.

1. Bishop Colenso states, that the Bishop of Capetown has resigned his first Letters Patent, and builds much of the case put before his counsel on that basis. But it is a mistake to say so. The Bishop of Capetown resigned his See in 1853: the Letters Patent were not, however, made void by such resignation, any more than they would have been by his death. The trusts were made out to the Bishop and his successors, and his Lordship is his own successor. The Crown, a second time, selected Dr. Gray to fill the See, and gave him then additional Letters Patent: he now holds both, and the Crown did not in the second re-grant to him the lands, but directed that he might continue and proceed with every act or engagement entered into by him under his first Letters Patent, his second letters notwithstanding.

2. Bishop Colenso says, "It is still perhaps doubtful whether or not the nominee Legislative Council, existing in Natal, was in the eye of the law, a *representative* institution, as the present *elective* council is". The judgment does not enter upon the question, but only states, that by the charter of 1847, a council was created to make the laws for Natal, and that laws made without its co-operation are invalid.

3. Bishop Colenso speaks of the general effect of the recent decision in a way his own counsel does not (see the opinion which he has subjoined): they limit the relations between the Bishop of Natal and his clergy, to questions affecting the rights to the use of the churches and Church property; he extends it to embrace general Episcopal oversight; they, too, so far as they do go, speak with much hesitation.

¹ Eccclus. ii. 13.

³ Exod. xiv. 3.

² Ps. xxvii. 16.

⁴ Ps. cxviii. 23.

4. Bishop Colenso allows to the Metropolitan a right to review his judgments, but limits to that his Metropolitan power, saying he cannot try a Suffragan. The judgment of the Privy Council says "it is quite clear that the court had no power to confer *any* jurisdiction or coercive legal authority upon the Metropolitan over the Suffragan Bishops, or *over any other person*". Such a limitation of the Metropolitan office, as Bishop Colenso speaks of, allowing it to be exercised in one case but not in another, is not attempted to be made by the Privy Council, and if made, we should not then "be governed by the laws of the United Church of England and Ireland". By our resolution of 31st May, we declared we recognised as belonging to the Metropolitan the same jurisdiction as is possessed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, to wit, both a jurisdiction on appeal from a Suffragan Bishop, and a direct jurisdiction over a Suffragan's doctrine and morals. To that resolution, in perfect harmony with the laws of the Mother Church, we have affixed our signatures, and to another, which flows from it, to wit: "That Bishop Colenso, having been justly deprived of his office as Bishop of Natal, we cannot recognise nor acknowledge him".

In conclusion, let me say, though the heart craves for peace, it is not granted to us in all its fulness on earth. Our Lord tells us He came not to send peace on earth but a sword. Yet "a peace is ours beyond the world's understanding," "if¹ we hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering" firm unto the end.

Believe me to remain,

Faithfully yours,

JAMES GREEN, *Dean*.

PIETERMARITZBURG, 10th August, 1865.

The following Address to the Bishop of Capetown was agreed upon in the Convocation of Canterbury, 28th June:—

We, the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury, in Convocation under Her Majesty's most royal writ of summons lawfully assembled, pray your Grace, as the President of this Synod, and as Primate of all England and Metropolitan, to convey to the Lord Bishop of Capetown, appointed by Her Majesty's Letters Patent Metropolitan of the Province of South Africa, and to the Bishops who assembled with him to try, under the powers purported to be conveyed by Letters Patent granted by the Crown, a Bishop of the province accused by them of heresy, the expression of our hearty admiration of the courage, firmness, and devoted love of the truth of the Gospel, as the Church has received the same, which have been manifested by him and them under most difficult and trying circumstances. We thank them for the noble stand they have made against heretical and false doctrines, and we trust that even out of the present difficulties and embarrassments with which they are surrounded, it may please God to provide some safeguard for the maintenance of the faith once for all committed to the Saints.

¹ Heb. x. 24.

CHAPTER VIII.

1865.

The Return of Dr. Colenso to Natal—Letter of Archbishop Longley to the Dean, accepting the deposition of Dr. Colenso—Letter of Mr. Saunders to Dr. Colenso on his arrival—Aims of the Natal Erastians—Protests against Dr. Colenso, and Maritzburg Address in his favour—Dr. Colenso sets Erastianism in the front of the Conflict as “Queen’s Bishop”—His supporters call the Queen “the Pope and Supreme Head” of the Church—Dr. Colenso invades the Cathedral—The Dean defends the Metropolitan, who offers Dr. Colenso an Appeal against his sentence, which is refused—The Sentence of Excommunication, and the Dean’s letter to the clergy on it—The Natal Erastians call on Bishop Gray to resign—The Dean before the Supreme Court of Natal—His civil “outlawry”—Address of sympathy to him from laity of Maritzburg, from the President of E.C.U., and from the Archdeacons of Grahamstown and George—The Dean’s reply—His letter to the English Press.

Mr. Keble’s
gifts and
sympathy.

THE Metropolitan was cheered just at this time by the generous practical sympathy of Mr. Keble. The poet of the *Christian Year* was not a rich man. But what he had he gave freely. He bequeathed his valuable library to South Africa. It formed the *nucleus* of the splendid theological library now in the “Church House” at Capetown, which is admitted to be the best theological library in the Colonial Church. On 13th June, 1865, the Metropolitan wrote to Dean Green to say that he had received a gift of £1000 from Mr. Keble, to be applied primarily to the distressed Diocese of Natal, and he asks the Dean to draw upon him from this fund. At the moment when the Diocese was in a state of chaos, and no support could be looked for from the Erastian laity of Durban, and their sympathisers elsewhere, Mr Keble’s noble gift was a great encouragement. There are people nowadays who cherish a sentimental admiration for the poet of the *Christian Year*, and yet find it convenient to forget his whole-hearted championship of Bishop Gray and Dean Green in the bitter struggle against heresy and Erastianism in South Africa.

The struggle was bitter indeed. The Natal Erastians were clear-headed, and knew exactly what they wanted. Very

few, comparatively, agreed with Dr. Colenso's heresies. They thought about them as most Protestants were thinking. But they desired him to be judged and deposed by the *Crown*. They preferred to support and tolerate him, heresies and all, rather than admit that the *Church* had any right to judge and depose him, least of all that the Bishop of *Capetown*, the capital of the Old Colony, of which they were politically jealous, should venture to meddle with the "Queen's Bishop" in Natal. They were unusually able and well-educated men. Their numerous letters in the Natal papers teemed with classical allusions and literary quotations. In those days debates in the Natal Legislative Council were garnished with Latin quotations, such as no one ventures on in the Imperial Parliament in the twentieth century.

Bishop Gray took his bold firm line *pro Deo et Ecclesia*. But the full fury of the stormy contest did not touch him personally.

It beat day by day upon the devoted head of Dean Green. It smote him in his social life, and sundered him from the society of his most intimate friends. It hindered his pastoral work, and narrowed the scope of his ministrations. He was held up to scorn and obloquy in almost every issue of the Natal Press, during the fateful years of this period of his life's history. He was betrayed by weak brethren, especially amongst the clergy; and the attacks upon him were marked with a malevolence so bitter as to excite the compassion of the most fair-minded of his Erastian opponents.

Through it all his faith and patience never wavered. He had foreseen the course of events, which only too truly fulfilled the words of his letter to Bishop Gray before the trial, "You will have many difficulties and anxieties, but, God only knows! *I cannot think they will be like ours*".

There is pathos in the retrospect of the Dean's work in Natal up to this point. First the hard pioneer work in the young colony from 1849 to 1854. It is always hard for a man who has been the head of a work, with full power to act, to give way to another. Then came Bishop Colenso's "Ten Weeks," when he showed the germs of his heresies, and made things difficult for the Dean. The golden opportunity passed of protesting against Bishop Colenso in 1854, as the Dean hinted in his letter to the Metropolitan. Then came Bishop Gray's strange misconception of the inevitable trend of Bishop Colenso's views, his curious want of perception of the gulf between them and orthodoxy, and his late awaking to the

necessity of action, when the time for action had well-nigh passed, and full opportunity had been given for the Natal Erastians to consolidate and organise their forces.

The Dean's able and conciliatory "Pastoral Letter," which closed the previous chapter of this book, did much to strengthen the faithful, but it made little impression upon the convinced Erastians.

The Dean was, however, encouraged by the following firm and uncompromising letter from Archbishop Longley:—

Letter to the
Dean from
Archbishop
Longley.

"TO THE VERY REVEREND THE DEAN OF MARITZBURG.

"ADDINGTON PARK, CROYDON,
8th October, 1865.

"DEAR MR. DEAN,

"On my return from a short tour on the continent I found your letter of the 1st August accompanied by the resolutions agreed upon at the meeting of the clergy and representatives of the lay communicants of the Diocese of Natal in the Cathedral on St. Peter's Day. The Bishop of Capetown has sent me his answers to the questions put to him by the assembled clergy and laity of Maritzburg, and I consider them to be judicious. I do not see how you can accept Dr. Colenso as your Bishop without identifying yourselves with his errors. The Bishops of the Church of England, I believe with scarcely an exception, have either publicly prohibited Dr. Colenso from preaching in their Dioceses or have intimated their unwillingness to permit him so to do. At any rate he has not, so far as I am aware, preached in any Diocese except on one occasion, so that the great majority of the Bishops have virtually withdrawn from all communion with him.

"As to the appointment of a Bishop of Natal, the Church in South Africa has been pronounced by Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to be just as independent as any of the nonconformist communities; and under this view is, I conclude, quite competent to elect its own Bishop, without reference to the authorities in England either civil or ecclesiastical. Nor, as I conceive, will such an act separate you from communion with the Church of England. The Scotch Episcopal Church is in communion with us, but elects its own Bishops, and is not obliged to submit to appeals to Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

"May the Lord bless and guide yourself and the Church in Natal under your present trials!

"Believe me, dear Mr. Dean,

"Yours very faithfully,

"C. T. CANTUAR."

The Archbishop's allusion to the Scotch Episcopal Church made the Natal Erastians furious. They wanted the Royal

supremacy, as expressed by Privy Council decisions, to be accepted as governing them by their own voluntary action. If it was decided by law that there was no "Established Church of England" in Natal, their idea was to form themselves into a *voluntary Association* of Erastian Churchmen, pledged to accept all the *disabilities* of the Royal supremacy by their *own free action*, and also pledged to accept the principle that all questions of faith and doctrine were to be decided by a secular Court. They intended to bind themselves to accept all the ecclesiastical decisions of the Privy Council, past, present, and future, and they intended to force all those Churchmen who believed in the discipline and polity of the Free Churches of the Anglican Communion in Scotland and America to join them, or be stigmatised as "renegades and secessionists" from the Church of England. Every "Anti-Erastian" Churchman in Natal was to be forced to unite with their Erastian body, or be termed a traitor in case of his refusal.

The landing of the deposed Bishop of Natal at Durban, on 6th November, 1865, was the signal for the manifestation of their future policy on the part of the Natal Erastians.

Mr. James R. Saunders wrote the following letter to Dr. Colenso on the day that he landed.

Return of
Dr. Colenso.

Letter to him
by Mr. J. R.
Saunders.

"TO THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF NATAL.

"MY LORD,

"Her Majesty's Privy Council having advised that the proceedings of the Metropolitan against yourself, and his sentence of deposition, were null and void at law,

"I consider myself called upon to acknowledge you to be (as before) lawful Bishop over the members of the Church of England residing in Natal.

"In making this declaration I would, however, beg not to be considered as expressing any opinion in respect to those theological views which you have made public, and which have evoked so strongly the disapprobation of the Bishops in England. But I think, at the present time, that it is of importance that all who cling to the supremacy of the law should show their submission to it, especially whilst it is attacked as it has been, and is being attacked by the Bishop of Capetown and too many of his clergy—to whom we ought to have been able to look for the precept and example of obedience.

"Whilst making to your Lordship this statement, I would further beg to express an earnest hope that (for the purpose

of settling, as far as may be, the doubts and perplexities under which we labour) Her Majesty, as Head of the Church, may be moved, with your Lordship's concurrence, to direct her Privy Council to advise her,—

“(1) Whether your published theological views are such as exceed the limits of free thought and enquiry which are allowed by the Church of England,

“(2) Whether a Bishop, holding such a position as the Bishop of Capetown now occupies, together with many of his clergy, may lawfully set aside the existing law of the Church of England, disregard the Queen's authority, and repudiate the judgment of the Privy Council; and, moreover, assert that whilst receiving the Articles and formularies of the Church of England, they are not bound by any interpretations put upon these standards by the existing ecclesiastical courts in matters of faith.

“The Metropolitan and many of his clergy are doing all this, and it is of the utmost importance for us to know whether such acts do not, at law, amount to *secession*—by which they forfeit all position and emoluments belonging to the Church of England. And, whether for such acts their deposition should not be proclaimed by lawful authority; and Her Majesty be prayed to appoint other more faithful ministers over the congregation.

“I believe this prayer to Her Majesty for advice of her Privy Council would obtain the cordial support of real and sincere members of the Church of England, and I would subscribe, as a first subscription, £50 towards the expenses incidental on such a request.

“I have the honour to be,

“Your Lordship's obedient servant,

“JAMES R. SAUNDERS.”

“DURBAN, 6th November, 1865.”

Mr. Saunders was an able leader of the Erastians.

Mr. Saunders was for many years the able and persistent advocate of the Erastian views proclaimed in this letter. He enunciates the position of the Natal Erastians in clear and simple terms. He carefully guards himself from expressing any sympathy with Dr. Colenso's heresies, which annoyed him, and those who thought with him, very considerably, because they implicated the Erastian party, who desired to compel all Churchmen to admit their view of the Royal supremacy; and gave colour to the view that those who supported Dr. Colenso's Erastianism also supported his heresy. So far was this

from being the case, that some of the most thorough-going Erastians, whilst supporting the clergy who held Dr. Colenso's license, were yet infrequent worshippers at Church if he officiated in person.

The Erastians did not necessarily support Dr. Colenso's heresies.

Dr. Colenso very adroitly adapted his public utterances to the views of the majority of his followers. He preached his published "Natal Sermons," in which he reiterated his heresies; but, when he had done that to his own satisfaction, he beat the Protestant and Erastian "drum ecclesiastic" with unmeasured vehemence.

It will be noticed that Mr. Saunders began the "Proviso" controversy, in the second paragraph of his letter, wherein he comments upon the decision of the Provincial Synod of Bishops, held after Dr. Colenso's trial in 1863, to reject Privy Council judgments in interpreting the Anglican formularies. Dr. Colenso's answer to this letter is of little importance save that he subscribed £5 to Mr. Saunders' fund to get him tried over again for heresy, an effort which it is difficult to believe that he really took seriously.

Mr. Saunders begins the "Proviso" controversy.

Mr. Lloyd, of St. Paul's, Durban, and his churchwardens, protested against Dr. Colenso's intrusion into St. Paul's Church the Sunday after he landed, but the majority of the congregation supported him on Erastian grounds, and presented him with an address of welcome.

Protest of St. Paul's Churchwardens against Dr. Colenso.

Dr. Colenso reached Maritzburg on 14th November, and was presented with the following address by his supporters:—

Address of welcome presented to him at Maritzburg.

"TO THE RIGHT REVEREND JOHN WILLIAM COLENZO,
LORD BISHOP OF NATAL.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

"We, the undersigned inhabitants of Pietermaritzburg, congratulate your Lordship on your happy arrival in this your Diocese of Natal, and trust the example of industry, high courage, constancy, and truthfulness, which your Lordship has exhibited so successfully in England, may create in Natal an admiration like to that so largely extended to your Lordship at home by all classes and persuasions there, who, whether agreeing with or dissenting from your Lordship's views, thoroughly, however, appreciated the rare courage and true honesty which impelled your Lordship to quit Natal, go to the fountain-head of authority, and there fully submit yourself to the test of public opinion, free discussion, and judicial decision.

"Hence we are justly proud of your return to us, and trust,

through your exertions, to see past differences reconciled, and the cause of true religion advanced.

"Assuring your Lordship that, as loyal British subjects, you have our hearty support, and best wishes for your future career in Natal, as its duly appointed Bishop, we subscribe ourselves, with great respect."

(Here follow the signatures.)

The Dean's
counter-
Address.

The Dean and Archdeacon Fearn had prepared the following document, which was signed by themselves, the Rev. F. S. Robinson, and 148 loyal lay Churchmen. This was duly forwarded to Dr. Colenso, and was received by him without any acknowledgment.

"TO JOHN WILLIAM COLENZO, D.D., BY LETTERS PATENT
DESIGNATED LORD BISHOP OF NATAL.

"We, the undersigned, understanding from your letter dated London, 9th June, 1865, addressed to the clergy and laity of the United Church of England and Ireland in the Diocese of Natal, that on your arrival in the colony you propose to assume episcopal authority over the body of Christians therein commonly called by that name, and to which we belong, beg to state that we cannot recognise your claim to exercise such authority, nor to interfere in any wise with our clergy, ourselves, or the property of the Church.

"Her Majesty's Privy Council has judicially decided on your petition that we are, in the colonies of the Crown in South Africa, a voluntary association *only*, in the eyes of the law, and that it rests with ourselves to make and execute our own rules; provided only, that in so doing, we do not do anything contrary to the law of the land.

"The Crown, however, in Letters Patent granted to our Bishops, marked out a course which, seeking the well-being of the Church, it desired us to follow. That course has been loyally followed by the Bishops of Capetown, Graham's Town, St. Helena, and the Orange Free State; and they have deposed you, on account of your teaching, from the exercise of your spiritual office, by a sentence in which we concur. That sentence also has been manifestly accepted by the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England, to whom we look with the deepest reverence and affection. This being the case, we must regard any attempt on your part to act in opposition to the judgment of the Church, expressed so frequently, so distinctly, and in such various ways, as an act interfering with

those liberties as a voluntary association, and those rights as loyal subjects of the Crown, so distinctly secured to us by the Privy Council."

(Here follow the signatures.)

We may note here that Bishop Welby of St. Helena, after carefully weighing the proceedings of the trial at Capetown, gave a written judgment in accord with that of the Metropolitan.

Bishop Welby on the judgment.

Before entering upon the sequence of events, it may be convenient to group together some Erastian utterances of Dr. Colenso and of one of his typical followers, in order to show the true nature of the struggle for the liberties of the Catholic Church, to which Dean Green was committed.

Erastian utterances of Dr. Colenso and his party.

A letter had appeared in the Natal Press, suggesting that the connection between the Crown and one religious body only in the Colony, was to be deprecated, and also stating the obvious truth that the Queen did not ordain Bishops.

Dr. Colenso, in his published reply, said: "Your correspondent observes, '*I see no equitable reason why the Sovereign, in such a country as Natal, is to have a direct connection with one denomination of Christians more than another.*' Let him rather say at once, '*I see no reason why the Queen should be the constitutional Head of the Church of England.*' In other words, *why there should be an Established Church at all.*"

Dr. Colenso's published letter.

"This, of course, is an open question. But while there is a National Episcopal Church established by law in England, whose laws are made by the State, *not* by the clergy, we desire to be governed, as nearly as circumstances will allow, by the Rules of that Church, in Natal, and at any rate to adhere to its fundamental principles, and recognise the decisions of its Supreme Courts of Appeal.

"Your correspondent further says, '*True, she is the Head of the Anglican Church in England, but also of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, both by law established. . . . Two others are also paid by colonial funds, viz., Dutch Reformed and Roman Catholic. Does not the Queen's assumption of the Headship of one out of four acknowledged Churches, constitute a grave reflection, and seeming intolerance, towards, and in respect of, the other three?*'"

The Queen as "Supreme Head".

"I answer *not at all*; for the other three Churches would resent that interference which *we* gladly welcome. Neither the Scotch Presbyterian Church, nor the Dutch Reformed, nor the Roman Catholic, would tolerate the notion of the Queen having power to appoint their chief pastors; they

would regard it as *an Erastian abomination*. But if we think it a great blessing, and desire to shelter ourselves from clerical or lay intolerance—at least till more liberal and enlightened times shall come—under the protection of the system maintained in our National Church, who has a right to prevent us, or to complain of our so doing? Your correspondent says, ‘*We know there is nothing in Episcopacy requiring the interference of the Crown. The Queen cannot ordain a Bishop; this is done by ecclesiastics.*’

The Queen
ordains
Bishops.

“Let me point out here *a mistake*. In the system of the Church of England the Queen *does ordain*—not directly, but virtually—the *clergy of all orders*, bishops, priests and deacons. What is done by *ecclesiastics* in this matter is done by them ministerially by virtue of *power committed to them by the Queen*, I mean, as representing the State—the people. This is not the Roman Catholic principle, according to which all power in the Church is derived from the clergy; it is not the principle which many excellent persons suppose to be lying at the basis of the system of our National Church. But it *is*, I expect, *the fundamental principle of the Church of England*, as I hope in a few words to be able more fully to explain. *The Queen cannot ordain a Bishop*; she cannot admit a man into the ranks of the clergy, nor can she admit one into the ranks of the medical profession, or to practice at the Bar. And yet, in all such cases, the authority to admit to any function—clerical, medical or legal—is ultimately, by the law of the land, derived from the Queen—that is, from the people. This principle is recognised in ecclesiastical matters as well as others. The *ecclesiastics*, who ordain a Bishop, are only *the Queen’s ministers* appointed for this very thing.”

Dr. Holland’s
letter.

So far Dr. Colenso himself. We now quote from a letter to the Press, written by Dr. E. W. Holland of Durban, one of the leading Erastians of Natal.

“The case of the Bishop of Natal is now brought to the greatest simplicity. The Church of England extends her influence to Natal. Her members are required to form a *Voluntary Association*, having for guidance her laws and discipline. The Bishop of Natal is the head or President of this Association, with the Civil Courts in aid in case of disputes, and a final appeal to the *Supreme Head* of the Church, both at home and abroad, *viz.*, Her Majesty in Council. *The Queen is Pope in the Church of England* at home and abroad, and religious bodies which do not acknowledge the Queen’s *Papacy* are not branches of the Church of England, whether or not

The Queen
Pope of the
Church of
England.

they are in *union* and *full communion* with it. The supremacy of the lay power, the lay government of the Church of England, is an unspeakable blessing in the present condition of things. The government of the Church by the clergy, or by clerically minded laymen, would be an immense evil."

It is difficult to find the Erastian Protestant view of the Church of England put in clearer terms than in these letters of Dr. Colenso and Dr. Holland, in addition to the definitions of the letter of Mr. Saunders.

We come now to the most terrible trial that the Dean had ever been called upon to face—the invasion of his Cathedral by Dr. Colenso. He had built St. Peter's Cathedral, and gradually gathered together its congregation after nearly seventeen years of faithful pastoral work. On Sunday, 19th November, 1865, Dr. Colenso invaded the Cathedral, armed with the powers of an interdict from the Supreme Court of Natal, which authorised his holding service, in defiance of the Metropolitan's sentence of deprivation, and of the Dean's authority as parish priest. We cannot even imagine the terrible strain upon the Dean, caused by this scene of tumultuous irreverence in the House of God. The Cathedral was crowded with sightseers, eager to watch the coming fray. But few of the ordinary worshippers were present. Evil-minded curiosity prompted the foremost of the mob to stand upon the seats nearest the chancel, to gaze upon the scandal which was being enacted before their eyes. Dr. Colenso and his steward entered the Cathedral, but were stopped at the entrance of the chancel by one of the Churchwardens, Mr. Dickinson, who read the protest of the wardens against the unlawful intrusion of the deposed Bishop. Dr. Colenso's reply struck the *Erastian* note, which was the undertone of the whole conflict: "I am come," he said, "to discharge in this Church and Diocese the duties committed to me by the *Queen*." Mr. Turnbull, as Registrar for the Diocese, appointed by the Metropolitan, then read the sentence of Deposition, whereby J. W. Colenso, D.D., was formally deprived by the Metropolitan of his office as Bishop of Natal. Up to this time the Dean and Mr. Robinson of St. Andrew's, Maritzburg, had been kneeling before the Altar. The Dean now rose and turned to the people, solemnly pronouncing the following words: "It is written, *That which ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven*. This sentence therefore is binding in the sight of Almighty God."

Dr. Colenso's
invasion of
the Cathedral.

The sentence
of depos-
ition read.

Dr. Colenso then ascended the chancel step and robed himself in the face of the congregation. He then read matins

Divided ministrations in the Cathedral.

and preached a sermon in which he expressed strongly the heresies for which he had been condemned. It was duly published and circulated. On the following Sunday the Dean gave up the 11 a.m. and 7 p.m. services to Dr. Colenso. He ministered to his own flock at 8 a.m., 9.30 a.m. and 5 p.m. He had to see the Cathedral which he loved so well made a byword of strife and dissension in the face of Christendom. People came to Dr. Colenso's services out of curiosity as to what he would say next. The Dean could only possess his soul in patience. As Vicar-General of the Metropolitan, who was trustee of the site of the Cathedral, he was bound to hold his ground, and continue to occupy the building, jointly with Dr. Colenso.

It was by no means certain whether the Civil Courts would eject the Dean, as they ultimately did. Until he was ejected by law, it was his plain duty to continue to use the Cathedral, however painful to him personally the joint occupation with Dr. Colenso must have been. On 7th January, 1866, the Dean had the inexpressibly painful duty of publishing the sentence of excommunication on Dr. Colenso. But before doing this, the Dean wrote the following letter, asking for the publication of the Metropolitan's letter to Dr. Colenso:—

The Dean's letter to the Press in defence of the Metropolitan.

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE *NATAL MERCURY*.

"SIR,

"The enclosed letter from the Bishop of Capetown to Dr. Colenso, his lordship would feel obliged by your publishing, as it is of interest to and concerns the whole Diocese.

"I would also, if you will allow me, at this juncture refer to the attacks so frequently made on the Metropolitan for being overbearing in character, and for not having displayed judicial calmness in his conduct towards Dr. Colenso, as the constant reiteration of these charges fills many members of the Church with anxiety.

"When, in 1861, Dr. Colenso sent a copy of his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* to the Metropolitan, he wrote back in reply entreating him not to publish it, if he had not already done so; on receiving an answer that the publication could not be arrested, he acted neither hastily nor despotically, but sought advice. He wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, praying him to lay the book before the English Bishops, and obtain their counsel to guide him.

"Circumstances soon after took him to England, whither Dr. Colenso followed him; the attempts then made, at the in-

stigation of the Metropolitan, to persuade Dr. Colenso to avoid a trial are familiar to all; they however failed, and the case was heard at the end of 1863; the trial over, the Metropolitan again interposed a delay of four months before putting in force the sentence, that Dr. Colenso might, if he wished, retract.

"Upwards of two and a half years, therefore, elapsed between the publication of the *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* and the promulgation of the sentence; therefore, undoubtedly, there was no haste, nor was the Metropolitan overbearing, but full of entreaty and patience.

"The world, however, has been angered because, the Privy Council having refused the world's support to the sentence, the Metropolitan did not abandon it; but he never relied on the support of the world, nor asked for it, therefore the withholding of it is naught, and ought to be naught to the Christian: what the Christian calls faith, the world styles arrogance and pride.

"Dr. Colenso, in some remarks he recently published, spoke of the churchwardens having received instructions or orders from the Metropolitan. What he alludes to I do not know; in itself it is a matter of no moment, but if it will help to dispel prejudice against one who simply wishes to labour on our behalf, I may say that the churchwardens and myself have not been acting under any instructions from the Bishop of Capetown; that what we have done has not been in any way at his suggestion, and what he thinks of our acts I do not know. His letters by the mail were on other matters, and contained no comment; they did contain these words, 'As the time for taking this step draws on, my bowels yearn over him (Dr. Colenso), and I feel very very sorry'. These words were not written for other eyes than mine, but I extract them in order that those who, whilst knowing him, misjudge him, may know what he really feels, and in the hope, let me say, that he may be God's minister to heal as well as to punish; I mean that Dr. Colenso may yield to the Metropolitan's sorrow of heart, what he will not yield to his judgment.

"JAMES GREEN, *Dean*."

The Metropolitan's letter to Dr. Colenso breathes a spirit of Christian generosity that was little appreciated. The trial and judgment had been conducted strictly according to the laws of the Church. The time for appeal on Dr. Colenso's part which was allowed him by the Court of the Metropolitan had long since expired. And yet Bishop Gray, of his own

accord, offered to submit his judgment to an Appeal Court, whose constitution would be beyond criticism in the eyes of all true Churchmen, whichever of his three alternatives was adopted. In so doing, the Metropolitan, in the judgment of the writer, conceded far more than was necessary. But the publication of his proffered concessions ought to have saved him from the imputation of desiring to set up "a Capetown Papacy". He knew very well that no Province is independent of authority outside its limits, and that no Metropolitan of the Catholic Church is an irresponsible autocrat. The Constitution and Canons of the South African Church very carefully guard against any such claims.

The Metropolitan's Letter.

"THE RIGHT REVEREND DR. COLENZO.

"MY LORD,

The Metropolitan's
letter to Dr.
Colenso
offering an
Appeal.

"The time has arrived when in accordance with the following resolution unanimously adopted by the Synod of Bishops of this Province, I am forced after due and repeated admonition to separate you by formal sentence from the communion of the Church.

"This Synod is of opinion that should the Bishop of Natal presume to exercise episcopal functions in the Diocese of Natal, after the sentence of the Metropolitan shall have been notified to him, without an appeal to Canterbury, and without being restored to his office by the Metropolitan, 'he will be *ipso facto* excommunicated, and that it will be the duty of the Metropolitan after due admonition to pronounce the formal sentence of excommunication'.

"Before taking the last step thus enjoined upon me, which I am sure you will do me the justice to believe, must be on every ground a most painful one, I desire to express my readiness to adopt any of the following courses, which if assented to by you, may enable me to escape it.

"I will submit both the judgment and the sentence which I have pronounced upon the charges brought against you, and which have been agreed to by the other Bishops of this Province, for final adjudication either :—

"(1) To His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, to be heard by him with the assistance of such other Bishops of his Province as he may see fit to summon.

"I put this prominently forward because it seems to have been the course decided on by the Crown and the Church at the foundation of the See and marked out in the Letters Patent.

"(2) To a Synod or other gathering of the Bishops of England or of the United Church.

"(3) To a Synod or other gathering of such of the Bishops of our Communion throughout the Empire as can be assembled in London, for the hearing of the case upon the invitation of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

"And I will use earnest endeavours to obtain a hearing of the case at the earliest possible period, by whichever tribunal you may prefer. I cannot consent to submit my sentence to any other body except the Bishops of the Church.

"(1) Because I believe that they are the only persons who by the Word of God and the Canons of the Church are competent to set it aside.

"(2) Because it is expressly provided in the Letters Patent, founding the several Sees of this Province, that the gravest spiritual causes in this portion of the Church shall be finally decided by Bishops only.

"(3) Because there is no law either of the Church, or of the State, which empowers Her Majesty, either in person or by deputy, to hear and decide spiritual causes for Colonial Churches, which are declared to be purely Voluntary Religious Associations.

"Should you within a week from the receipt of this letter signify your readiness to the Dean of Maritzburg to abide by the decision of any of the parties whom I have named, he will stay the issue of the sentence. But if not, he will under my instructions publish, without further reference to me, the last sad formal document.

"I remain with the deepest pain and sorrow,

"Your faithful servant,

"(Signed) R. CAPETOWN, *Metropolitan.*"

"BISHOPSCOURT, 13th December, 1865."

Bishop Gray's words: "I cannot consent to submit my sentence to any other body *except the Bishops of the Church*" touched the marrow of the whole controversy. There could be no possibility of harmony between the Catholic belief that the Church has her own judges and her own Canon law, and the Erastian belief that the civil power, as represented by the Royal supremacy, has made a "Lay-Pope" of the occupant of the throne of Great Britain.

After publishing the "sentence of excommunication" at the early service in the Cathedral on 7th January, the Dean

The sentence of excommunication published in the Cathedral. issued the following circular letter to the clergy of the Diocese :—

"MARITZBURG, 8th January, 1866.

The Dean's letter to the clergy on the excommunication. "MY DEAR ——,

"It is my painful duty to have to inform you that yesterday, the first Sunday after the Epiphany, I published in the Cathedral Church, under instructions from the Metropolitan, a sentence of the 'greater excommunication' against Dr. J. W. Colenso, late Bishop of this Diocese.

"The Metropolitan, at the same time that he charged me with this painful duty, entrusted me also with a letter to Dr. Colenso, which, as it has been published in the local papers, I need not transcribe.

"It proved ineffectual, and the seven days therein spoken of having been fulfilled, my duty required me to issue the sentence, a copy of which I now enclose for the information of the faithful committed to your charge. I enclose you also a copy of a letter, in which I enclosed the Metropolitan's letter to Dr. Colenso. I do so now, as I ventured to include the name of the clergy with my own. I am sure I need not add that our own trust must be found in calling upon God, not only that He may lift up the Light of His Countenance upon us, and make haste to deliver us, but that also, if possible, He may restore him who is now excommunicate.

"Believe me to remain, in much sorrow of heart,

"Yours sincerely,

"JAMES GREEN."

The Natal Erastians call on Bishop Gray to resign his See.

His reply.

The next move of the Natal Erastians was to send a very cleverly drafted petition to Bishop Gray, calling upon him to resign his See, and his office as Metropolitan. The reasons given for this extraordinary course of action were (i.) because the Metropolitan had "purported to depose the Bishop of Natal," and (ii.) because the Synod of Bishops in 1863 had denied the supremacy of the Crown and the authority of the Privy Council in matters of faith and doctrine. This, the memorialists said, made Bishop Gray the head of "a new Church which rejects the Constitutional Government of the Church of England". The Metropolitan's published reply was calm and dignified. He remarked that he had no desire to found "a new Church in South Africa," or to be its "irresponsible head". "My whole life and energies," he said, "have been devoted to planting in this land a branch of the Church of England in which I was born, and I have ever sought to

strengthen the Union between the Mother and Daughter Churches, and not to separate them." These words were true enough. But Bishop Gray's opponents meant one thing by the phrase "a branch of the Church of England" and the Metropolitan meant another. To him "the Church of England" meant the ancient historical Christianity of the Anglo-Saxon race, from the first planting of the "*Ecclesia Anglicana*" by Pope Gregory's mission. He meant the "*Ecclesia Anglicana*" whose liberties are secured by "*Magna Charta*". The Natal Erastians meant by the phrase "Church of England" the secular fetters placed on the "*Ecclesia Anglicana*" by the Tudor Reformation—or, in other words—"the Establishment". It is a pity that Bishop Gray did not confine himself by way of a reply to a simple acknowledgment of the receipt of their petition.

The miserable condition of things at the Cathedral naturally grew worse and worse. Dr. Colenso took a baptism, and ordered the Dean to give him access to the Register for the purpose of entering it. To have complied with this order, even in so apparently small a matter, would have been an acknowledgment by the Dean that Dr. Colenso possessed jurisdiction over the Cathedral and its Registers. It was impossible to obey the order of a deposed and excommunicated person, who had been deprived of all lawful ecclesiastical authority. Dr. Colenso brought the matter into the Supreme Court of Natal, along with other claims, which were intended to close the Cathedral to the Dean and his congregation.

The Dean's refusal to allow the use of the Register to Dr. Colenso.

Dr. Colenso did not get all he asked for. The dual control of the Cathedral was to continue until the question of its trusteeship was settled. But the Court ordered the Dean to give Dr. Colenso access to the Register. He declined to do so; and on 1st May, 1866, the Supreme Court declared the Dean to be "in contempt". The Dean conducted his own case and read a very remarkable protest, which was duly accepted by the Court, as forming part of the records of the case. The Dean said:—

Dr. Colenso applies to the Supreme Court.

The Dean's protest to the Supreme Court.

"MY LORDS,

"I feel most keenly the pain of being in a position which requires me to refuse obedience to an order emanating from one of her Majesty's Courts of Justice. Were your order one which called upon me to discharge my duty to my Sovereign, I trust I should render it most cheerful obedience. Your Lordships' order, however, is not one of such character,

but directs me how to bear myself in the Church of the Living God, and in the Kingdom of Christ Jesus, my Lord and Saviour.

"To this Court there is assigned by law a jurisdiction *in all causes, whether civil, criminal, or mixed*, arising within this Colony, but none in spiritual and ecclesiastical causes. Nevertheless your Lordships' order of the 31st of March draws to this Court a spiritual jurisdiction, inasmuch as it requires of me, as an ambassador of Christ, to recognise one rejected by Him; for Dr. Colenso has been deposed by sentence of the Church. That sentence, notwithstanding, may be pronounced *null and void in law* without dishonour to Him whom we are bound to honour, even as we honour the Father; for if it involves no civil grievance, it is, not cognisable by civil law. Many a sentence, the just judgment of the Almighty, is beyond the reach of human law; a sentence of loss of health, of friends, or of gifts of God once possessed, all may see and acknowledge to be from God, but yet furnish no matter for the law to touch; so, although Dr. Colenso, in the language of the Most Reverend the Archbishop of Canterbury, *has been duly and canonically deposed from his spiritual office according to the common law of the Church of Christ*, yet the civil law may not be able to take cognisance of it, distinctly ignoring, as it does, questions of creed and religion. As a Christian, however, I cannot ignore that sentence without impiety; I should therefore rebel against my Lord and Saviour, did I, under cloak of any order of a Court of civil jurisdiction, recognise by any act of mine a spiritual office in Dr. Colenso." The Dean then proceeded to argue at some length that his liberties as an Englishman had not been respected by the Court's action in accepting Dr. Colenso's *affidavit* that, as Bishop, he had a right to order the Dean to produce the Baptismal Register, and rejecting the Dean's *affidavit*, denying that Dr. Colenso had any jurisdiction over him as Bishop.

"Still, my Lords," he proceeded, "though I think it my duty to state this, yet it is not because my civil rights are thus interfered with that I do not obey your order. . . . The Court commands me to receive an order from Dr. Colenso as Bishop in the Church of Christ. Praying, then, the Holy Spirit, through Jesus Christ, to give me a right judgment in all things, I decline, as a Christian and minister of the Lord Jesus, to do that which your order requires me."

The Chief Justice, sitting with Mr. Justice Phillips, and Mr. Justice Meller, gave judgment to the effect that the Dean was

"outlawed," and in perpetual "contempt of Court". Judge Civil Phillips said that since the Dean was "in contempt," Dr. "outlawry " of the Dean. Colenso could assume full control of the Cathedral, and Judge Meller made needlessly offensive remarks about the Dean's "posing as a martyr". But the treatment of the Dean by the Supreme Court produced a reaction in his favour. Dr. Colenso at this time went so far as to ask the Natal Government to deprive the Dean of his income of £100 per annum as Colonial Chaplain. But his friends stood by him.

We quote from the Natal Press an address to the Dean:—

"4th May, 1866.

Lay address
of sympathy
with the
Dean.

"A deputation consisting of Messrs. J. H. Spence, P. Davis, sen., W. H. Fenton, and Dr. Cattell, waited on Friday last upon the Very Rev. J. Green, at the Deanery, and presented the following address, which was very numerously signed throughout all classes of the community. The original has been forwarded through the Administrator of Government to the Secretary for the Colonies:—

"TO THE VERY REV. JAMES GREEN, M.A., DEAN OF PIETERMARITZBURG.

"VERY REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,

"We the undersigned inhabitants of Pietermaritzburg and other parts of the colony, impressed with a deep sense of what we owe to your untiring ministrations during a period of nearly eighteen years, embracing seasons of almost unexampled difficulty and most severe trial to the cause of truth, desire to express to you at the present time our appreciation of the many high and noble qualities which have been displayed in your conduct whilst among us, the Christian firmness, consistency of life, impartial generosity, uniform affability of demeanour, and firm continuance in well doing through evil as well as good repute, by which you have, as we well know, secured the love and respect of all classes of the community.

"Most of us can gratefully recollect your frequent acts of unselfish kindness, timely and prudent counsel in seasons of trial or perplexity, and many other personal and individual benefits; whilst all must bear testimony to the untiring zeal and assiduity with which your labours as a Christian minister have ever been characterised throughout the lengthened period of your residence in Natal.

"We feel it the more incumbent upon us at the present time to assure you of our sincere respect and unshaken confidence, since we have learned with deep regret, through the medium of the public journals, that Dr. Colenso has thought proper on a recent occasion to represent in the highest quarters his opinion that you are not a fit person to discharge the duties of Colonial Chaplain in this city, and to recommend the withdrawal of the annual grant of £100 at present received by you in such capacity from the public treasury; and the correspondence on this subject has been officially forwarded to Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Colonies for decision as to such withdrawal.

"Gratefully acknowledging as we do the devoted and conscientious manner in which you have ever discharged your duties amongst us as a Christian minister, we feel that we should be wanting in the discharge of our duties, were we not to raise our earnest and decided protest against this groundless aspersion of your character.

"To give force to this our protest, we have determined upon transmitting a copy of this address to the same high authority. We would in conclusion renew our expression of the greatest respect and confidence on the following grounds:—

"1. That during the infancy of this colony, as well as subsequently, through a long period of years, you have continued unaided to supply the spiritual wants of the members of the Church of England in the city with zeal and efficiency rarely equalled.

"2. That in doing this you have shrunk from no amount of exertion or of bodily fatigue, having for a long period performed four services (in two separate churches) on every Sunday, which, especially in a hot climate, cannot be done without a great trial of physical endurance.

"3. That your ministrations to the sick and dying have ever been given in the true spirit of Christianity, and with such utter disregard of self or of bodily ease, as to obtain for you heartfelt and lasting gratitude, as well as the deep affection and sincere respect of all classes of society.

"4. That your faithful and consistent walk amongst us for so long a period has enhanced the value of your verbal ministrations, and shown to us all a pattern of real earnestness and truly Christian conduct never to be forgotten.

"Finally, with an earnest prayer that God may long grant to you the power of continuing your indefatigable labour in

His service, and to the city the inestimable blessing of so tried and faithful a pastor,

“We are, very Rev. and Dear Sir,

“Yours faithfully in Christ,

(Here follow the signatures, which amounted to upwards of 380 names).

The Dean's reply to this address is too long to quote.

About the same time the Dean received the following valuable expression of sympathy from the President and Council of the E.C.U.

Address of
sympathy
from E.C.U.

“ENGLISH CHURCH UNION.

“TO THE VERY REVEREND THE DEAN OF MARITZBURG,
AND THE REVEREND THE CLERGY OF THE DIOCESE OF
NATAL.

“11 BURLEIGH STREET, STRAND, LONDON.

“9th April, 1866.

“We who venture to address you are the President, Council, and members of the English Church Union—a society instituted for the purpose of ‘maintaining unimpaired the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England’.

“We are impelled by community of feeling and strong sympathy to express our deep sense of the faithfulness with which, under very trying circumstances, you, our brethren in the faith, are supporting your noble-hearted Metropolitan in maintaining the cause of truth and religion.

“The present generation is engaged in a conflict between the powers of truth and error, scarcely, if at all, less critical than that great contest with Arianism which troubled the early Church. The English Church is in a position of peculiar responsibility. On her mainly depends the maintenance of the truth of God in its integrity. Her branches, spreading everywhere throughout the world, will exercise a mighty influence on the future, and determine what shall be the position of the Church in after ages, amongst new nations of Christians and populations reclaimed from barbarism.

“On the issue of the present contest in Natal will depend very much the status of the Church in relation to the numerous newly-formed communities which speak the English language. The Metropolitan of Capetown seems raised up by Divine Providence to vindicate the independence and purity of the Church, and the adjustment of the future relations between the ecclesiastical and temporal powers. And you, our honoured

brethren, have been called to the post of danger. Living at the distance of half the globe, we feel that a few words of sympathy and encouragement from your brethren in the old country will be a source of strength and comfort ; and therefore we trust that it will not be considered intrusive in us thus to have expressed our sense of the great service which you are rendering to the common cause,—the cause of God, and of Truth,—in resisting to the utmost all endeavours of one who has been most justly deprived of his office as Bishop, to force himself again upon you. We trust that no threats or persecutions will induce you to hold communion with him, but that you will maintain with firmness the post which God has assigned you, as you have done hitherto, under the guidance of a more faithful Bishop, whom soon, we trust, God will raise up to superintend His flock in Natal.

“We shall not cease to pray for God’s blessing on you and your future Bishop, that he will strengthen, support, and comfort you.

“Signed on behalf of the Council and Members of the English Church Union,

“COLIN LINDSAY, *President.*”

On the Queen’s birthday Dean Green was asked to the usual official dinner at Government House. Dr. Colenso resented this “as an insult offered, not only to *me*, but to the majesty of English and Colonial law, since he is *here* declared an *outlaw*, and remains so” (*Life*, vol. ii. p. 35).

Address of
sympathy
from Arch-
deacon
Merriman
and the
Grahamstown
clergy.

Archdeacon Merriman and the clergy of Grahamstown sent a cordial address of sympathy to the Dean, in which the following words occur: “We are convinced that, after a compliance with several orders, purporting to emanate from high and lawful authority, you chose what alone appeared to you, and, we beg to assure you, appears to us, the highest line of duty, in refusing to surrender the sacred trust of the Baptismal Register of your Church, for a person, formally and lawfully excommunicated, to use as though he still remained (and lawfully held office) and could administer Sacraments among the faithful. We believe that you are fighting the battle of the true liberty of the English Church—liberty to maintain the Faith as we have received it against the caprice of any individual Bishop, who may wish to alter it.”

Address of
sympathy
from the
Arch-
deaconry
of George.

Archdeacon Badnall and the Archdeacon of George sent a similar address, and so did Archdeacon Thomas, and the Archdeaconry of the Cape.

The Dean’s reply to the address from George practically

embodies his replies to the other addresses. It is as follows :—

“PORT ELIZABETH, *June*, 1866.

“MY DEAR ARCHDEACON,

The Dean's
reply.

“I must beg of you to accept yourself, and to convey for me to the clergy of your Archdeaconry, my sincerest thanks for the address I have received from you all. As St. Paul, when he went up to Jerusalem, communicated unto them which were of reputation that Gospel which he had preached, lest by any means they should run, or had run in vain, so, be assured, that it is a great comfort to find you who have received the Holy Ghost for the work of the ministry, seal with your approval that which we have done in Natal to uphold the Church when assailed from within and from without. I will not speak of myself: but as you allude to calmness and patience, will avail myself of the opportunity to say that, notwithstanding much that has been written to the contrary, the faithful in Natal have been singularly anxious to endure patiently, and to avoid all needless giving of offence, whilst clinging steadfastly to the truth, and careful not in the least matter to do anything which should enable the world to say we had set aside the sentence of the Church. So deceitful is the flesh, that even in serving our Blessed Saviour we may be ensnared, love Him with carnal affection, and in contending for His truth, lean upon our own intellects, trusting to our own ability to refute the gainsayers. Let me then solicit of you all to continue to pray for us at Natal, that our thoughts, words, and works may be begun, continued, and ended in Christ; that we may not preach Him of contention but of love, standing fast in one spirit, with one mind striving together for the faith of the Gospel.

“Believe me to remain, my dear Archdeacon,

“Most sincerely yours,

“JAMES GREEN,

“*Dean of Maritzburg.*”

The Dean wrote this reply on his way up the coast from Capetown, where he had been to consult with the Metropolitan. On his return he found that Mr. Saunders and the Durban Erastians had brought a “Vestry Bill” into the Natal Legislative Council which would have legalised their views, and virtually created an Erastian State Church in Natal. The Dissenters objected, and the Bill was lost by the casting vote of the Speaker.

We may close this chapter with the following characteristic letter from Dean Green to the *Churchman*, an English Church paper :—

“TO THE EDITOR OF THE *CHURCHMAN*.

“MARITZBURG, 25th April, 1866.

“SIR,

Letter from
Dean Green
to the
CHURCHMAN.

“The mail delivered here yesterday brought the 7th February number of your paper. A reply to any observations therein will, by the time this reaches you, seem out of date. Still you would not only greatly oblige me, but do an act of justice to my parishioners, by kindly inserting this letter in your journal. In an article headed ‘The Struggle at Natal’ reference is made to my supposed poverty; and as my income is mainly derived from the free-will offerings of the laity at Maritzburg, I feel that the kindly intended remarks involve indirectly a censure upon others, and one undeserved. I trust it will be sufficient to say in reply that I am not suffering from poverty; my income is always paid to me not only regularly but in advance, and any repairs or additions to my house I may at any time have required, have been immediately and cheerfully undertaken. In whatever way my Saviour has called upon me to follow Him, it has not been to be with Him hungry and houseless. But upon some out here He has laid the burden of poverty. There are two concerning whom, I can only say, I do not know how they are to continue at their posts. Two others also there are distinctly in need. S.P.G. divides amongst these four clergymen the sum of £260 under present circumstances. At all events they should each receive £120 per annum from the Mother Church, and if the wealthy at home would make up the deficiency, *viz.*, £220, I should be deeply thankful. Either the Metropolitan or the S.P.G. would, I am confident, willingly receive and pay over their contributions.

“Whilst writing, I would like to be permitted to remark also on that part of your article in which you express your opinion that it would have been preferable had I fought the case out at once in the courts and known the worst. In my opinion, that worst would be worse than the present worst. ‘Make not haste in time of trouble’.

“My view of our position is this: Lord Westbury in declaring that the Letters Patent, etc., were of no legal value, pronounced the Church to be free. I believe the Church to be the kingdom of my Saviour, fully furnished and organised

by Him ; but others, not believing this, suppose the Church lost all authority when she lost civil support to it. The latter is the view Dr. Colenso labours to maintain along with those who join with him ; and I feel confident no interdict, order, or even judgment of the Court would be looked upon as so great a triumph, as would my going to the Court for assistance. The taunt is that the Church says she is free, but it is an idle vaunt, and she must come to the civil trial in every difficulty. My practical denial of this provokes the world to try and worry me to yield ; but every effort, every order, only proves that the Court cannot interfere in spiritual things ; it desires to do so ; but immediately there looms before it, as a necessary consequence, the recognition of Dr. Colenso's deposition ; it is therefore reduced to great shifts and to illegal acts. Having entered upon its course it may proceed to the end against me ; but then will come that exhaustion, which is the general result of persecuting the Church : she revives and finds that she has prevailed at the moment in which she seemed defeated.

"I am Dean of the Cathedral by virtue of a spiritual commission, my rights and duties are not civil, but spiritual, and the Civil Court cannot interfere ; no power different in character from that which gave me my office can deprive me of it. The Court may forcibly eject me, but whilst doing so, would be conscious of acting violently ; and I do not propose to give validity to their acts by regarding my connection with the Cathedral as broken thereby. It would be very different, however, if I went to law ; it would confer power on a Court which has it not, but which denies also that the Church has it ; in which view it would be confirmed by the Church appealing to it for aid. We might gain for the present a little ease,—that is, we might avoid some of the present struggle, one difficult to carry on, and one which can be so easily misrepresented ; but it would be at the cost of creating a precedent, which would prove a heavy chain round the Church for the future.

"Those who work with Dr. Colenso here generally put forth that they do not accept his opinions, but join with him to fight the battle as to whether the Church shall be free, or a mere department of the State : it behoves us therefore not to surrender the liberty of the Church from dread of temporary inconvenience.

"The judgment of Lord Lyndhurst in the case of Dr. Warren, so often appealed to, is doubtless good law, and would be followed in the case of other religious bodies ; but the Church is different, she professes to be a Kingdom, and the

world will not apply that principle to her, until by suffering she shames it into doing so.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Yours,

“(Signed) JAMES GREEN, *Dean.*”

It will be noted in the following chapters that the Dean kept his word. He did not *go to law* to defend his rights; but when the Supreme Court, after having heard Dr. Colenso's argument for the Dean's deprivation of his office and benefice, desired to hear the other side of the question, he consented to appear in Court and deliver that masterly “argument” which appears in our tenth chapter.

CHAPTER IX.

The election of a Bishop—Difficulties of "Church and State" men—Canon Callaway's attitude—Mr. Newnham's position—The Elective Assembly—Weakness of some of the clergy—Outspoken boldness of the laity—The Dean's speech—Mr. Butler elected—Dean Williams and Bishop Cotterill on the Elective Assembly—Lord Romilly's extraordinary Judgment in the Rolls Court—Dr. Colenso obtains trusteeship of Cathedral in the Natal Court—He cites Dean Green and other clergy for "contumacy"—He purports to "deprive" the Dean—The Dean's courage and confessorship—Visit of Bishop Twells—Scandalous scenes in the Cathedral—Bishop Twells at Durban—Death of the Dean's son by an accident—The Dean's reply to Dr. Colenso's letter of condolence.

BESIDES the few who followed Dr. Colenso's heresies, and the larger number of convinced Protestant Erastians who clung to the Privy Council and the Royal supremacy, there was a smaller group of perplexed clergy and laity who wished to be rid of Dr. Colenso, and yet were unwilling to elect another Bishop. They were not determined Erastians, but old-fashioned "Church and State" men, who were afraid of losing communion with the Church of England. Dean Green treated them with the utmost courtesy and tact, just as St. Athanasius of old treated the people who had drifted into the acceptance of a semi-Arian creed, and at the same time desired to uphold the Catholic Faith, so far as they knew it. It must be remembered that the Archbishop of Canterbury had advised that another Bishop should be elected, apart from all State authority, for the Diocese of Natal, in the same manner as Bishops were elected for the Scottish Episcopal Church. This was a severe shock to old-fashioned Anglicans. They were imbued with the idea that law and order would vanish if the State connection were severed. To them the only alternative to the Royal supremacy was ecclesiastical lawlessness and anarchy. The American Church and the Scottish Episcopal Church were organised bodies, with carefully drawn Canons governing doctrine and discipline. The South African Provincial Synod, which sat after the deposition of Dr. Colenso, had not organised the South African Church upon the basis of the assent to its decrees of the clergy and laity of the South

Old-fashioned
"Church and
State" men.

Their diffi-
culties.

African Dioceses, though this was thoroughly and carefully accomplished by the Provincial Synod of 1870. The minds of these men were full of questionings. Supposing Dr. Colenso succeeded in securing all the existing Church property in Natal, who was to be the trustee of the new Churches which would have to be built? What were to be the terms of the trust deed upon which the Church property of those in Natal, who declined to admit Dr. Colenso as their Bishop, would be legally held? What were to be the relations between them and the Bishop whom they were recommended to elect? How were the licenses to be worded which he would issue to his clergy? What would be his relations to the Metropolitan? The Suffragan's oath, which had been taken by Dr. Colenso, had proved a rope of sand when the strain came. How was the new Bishop to be bound to allegiance? What was to prevent his causing a repetition of the Colenso troubles?

And then it was felt that an attempt had been made to rely on an arm of flesh.

"Letters Patent," and Secular Courts, had been appealed to by *both* sides of the controversy. The confusion was great, and some minds were unable to distinguish spiritual jurisdiction from secular. The confusion of 300 years of Tudor Erastianism could not readily be disentangled by minds who had not gone deeply beneath the surface of things.

To them the election of a new Bishop in succession to Dr. Colenso was to jump out of the frying pan into the fire. The Queen's Patent had put him where he was. The Queen's Court had declared Bishop Gray's deposition of him "null and void" in law. Let the Queen's Court remove him by its own process of law, whatever that might be.

Such were the difficulties of good men with confused minds, when Dean Green called upon them to meet and elect a Bishop.

To take an instance. Canon Callaway had, as we have seen in a previous chapter, been anxious to take immediate action when he read Dr. Colenso's work on the "Pentateuch". Dean Green dissuaded him at the time for cogent reasons. Canon Callaway was in full sympathy with the action of the Metropolitan, and he thought that Dr. Colenso had been most justly condemned. But when the time came for the decisive step of electing a successor to Dr. Colenso, he held back. When Dr. Colenso entered the Cathedral, armed with an interdict from the Supreme Court of Natal, Canon Callaway had advocated resistance. He wrote to the Dean: "Colenso has

Canon
Callaway's
hesitations.

gained the first move towards a legal recognition, if we allow the interdict to remain unchallenged. We cannot too soon ascertain his and our legal position. If the law upholds Colenso in his position as Bishop, we have only one of two things to do (i) obey him ; or (ii) secede. I do not admit he has the legal position he claims ; and I would on no account be driven from the Church of England by the dishonesty of a deposed Bishop, or the arbitrary conduct of a Chief Justice, until I had contested the matter to the utmost, and on all grounds and in all ways."

But the Dean knew that the world power was with Dr. Colenso, and that resistance was useless. All he did was to yield nothing before the time, until the law ejected him from the Cathedral.

Canon Callaway at this time was much influenced by the Rev. W. O. Newnham, who was helping him at his Mission Station at Springvale. Mr. Newnham wrote a very able pamphlet in which he condemned Dr. Colenso's critical views on the Pentateuch, and he wrote a series of very able letters against his heresies, which were published in the Natal Press. But he was wedded to the notion that the *Crown* must be moved to deprive Dr. Colenso, since the "spiritual sentence" of the Metropolitan's Court had been adjudged "null and void in law". Dean Green did his utmost to convince him that he was taking a wrong course of action, but in vain. Nevertheless Mr. Newnham was so convinced of the Dean's charity and tact towards his opponents, that he wrote as follows on 15th September, 1866 :—

Mr. Newnham's contradictory position.

"MY DEAR DEAN,

"Before I say anything else, let me thank you from my heart for the warm—nay, brotherly, spirit of your letter. I am not given to many words, but I shall not forget it. I also thank you much for the full and free way in which you have spoken your mind to me. Should I be obliged to make any formal notification of my position, I will bear in mind your caution and not say anything more than I must. As to your emphatic refusal to have anything to do with fresh proceedings, all I can say is, I honour you for it. Of course I think you wrong, as you do me. (Mr. Newnham had previously written urging fresh proceedings against Dr. Colenso by direct Petition to the Crown.) But anyway you are a *man*, who, thinking a course your duty, goes on that course. And simply on that ground, that your trumpet blows no uncertain sound, your letter was an infinite pleasure to me, outwearied with constant

His friendly letter to the Dean.

battling against vacillation. Now we cannot fight together, but one thing we will both say—*God show the right*; and I know that whichever of us proves wrong will not be ashamed of owning it. And so our paths may meet again. In the meantime, please God, no word of mine, or act, shall make your way more painful than it is likely to be.”

Mr. Newnham stood his ground to the end, and declined to take part in the election of a Bishop in succession to Dr. Colenso. But the Dean’s firmness in action was never tinged by bitterness, and Mr. Newnham subsequently acknowledged the Dean’s “Christian gentleness” towards him, despite their differences, in a letter published in the Press.

Canon Callaway’s position differed from Mr. Newnham’s, although he resolutely refused to take part in the election of a Bishop. But it is best to let him speak for himself. He wrote as follows :—

“MY DEAR DEAN,

Canon
Callaway’s
letter to the
Dean.

“I never remember enjoying your company so much, or feeling more closely united to you than during the few days you were spending with us. We ought not to be separated from each other in our working. My feelings as to the election of a Bishop grow stronger, because I see that, under existing circumstances, it is a wrong thing. I shall only be too glad, if circumstances alter, to feel that we shall be one again, not only in spirit, heart, and wish, but in action.”

After saying that the Capetown sentence was invalid, he proceeds: “Now I am not going to say that, if there were no other means of redress, it might not be perfectly right to stand up fearlessly and unmoved for the Capetown sentence, and to take all the consequences; or that, had that been the course adopted, I should not have fully concurred with it. Had it been said: ‘*The Truth of Christ has been crushed down by these legal decisions*—the Church of Christ, as a Divine Institution, ignored—the Rulers in her set aside by them; and these evils arise from our being in legal connection with the State;—let us therefore sever that connection with our own hands.’ Let us say: ‘*State! do as thou wilt!* We dare not be bound by thy civil decisions in spiritual matters. We will stand alone, as independent as when our Lord first gave His Commission to the Eleven. Take back all that thou thinkest thou hast given of favour, support, and protection. We need it not. We scorn it. We will not have it, if we must purchase it at the price of that Truth which our Lord has committed to us.’ If we had

said this, and *acted* upon it, I could understand it. I doubt not I should have felt that my place was with the Church thus declaring itself. And then whether, as an independent Church, it had been large or small, whether it gathered into its ample bosom all who were its nominal members as an Established Church, or whether it had to begin again in an *upper chamber*, a small, despised and persecuted lot, I would willingly have shared with it, and believed that in that little band was a vitality of endless duration, and that God would again cause the little one to become a nation. *But we have not done this*, and therefore our acts appear, and are, lawless and arbitrary. I cannot take part in such action. I have heard from the Metropolitan. I could weep to think that anything that I might do should add the weight of a feather to his already too many cares. He is a dear, loving, apostolic man. And I doubt not that with his earnest prayerful spirit, God will eventually overrule all for good, and bless the Church in South Africa through his instrumentality. The position I have believed it my duty to take, implies no less love and respect for him, no less love, or heart-union, with yourself—no inclination to aid Colenso. It is with me a question of order, justice, and law. If it should become a question of parties—if it turn out that the Church has really been crushed and silenced by opposite factions, my course is, I think, clear. I must unite with the Bishop-electing party, and not with the Colensoites.”

Canon Callaway's letter shows, from its strange confusions of thought (expressed in a brotherly spirit, and mingled in some degree with a true sense of what the issues really were), how complex were the problems which the Dean had to solve. It is evident that Canon Callaway thought that Bishop Gray had not resolutely faced the severance of Church and State in his proceedings against Dr. Colenso. It is true that the Metropolitan, to quote Dean Green's words (in his memorable sermon preached in Capetown Cathedral in 1898), “leant upon his Letters Patent to his own hurt”. But he had some excuse for doing so. When the Colenso trial took place, the Long judgment, which declared his “Letters Patent” invalid, had not been pronounced. His English friends, who urged him to proceed to the trial of Dr. Colenso, had no idea that his position as Metropolitan “by Letters Patent” was doubtful. So that he was led into a two-fold procedure in the trial. First of all he relied on his inherent powers as a Metropolitan, appointed by the authority of the Church; and held a subsequent Provincial Synod to confirm his sentence, as a purely

Canon
Callaway's
confusions of
thought.

The Metro-
politan's
spiritual and
temporal
procedure.

The latter
only declared
"null and
void".

spiritual judgment, in accordance with the common law of the Church. And then he claimed to give his sentence the *temporal* effects of coercive jurisdiction by alluding to his supposed powers under his "Letters Patent". It was this latter procedure on his part that the Privy Council declared to be null and void. The Privy Council carefully avoided saying anything about the *spiritual* effect of the *spiritual* sentence. They only declared that its temporal effect was "null and void". And Canon Callaway was unable to clear his mind from the confusion caused by the dual procedure of the Metropolitan. It is easy to be wise after the event. It would have been better, of course, if the Metropolitan had relied upon his inherent spiritual powers alone, and at once ceded to Dr. Colenso all the Church buildings and Church property in Natal without contesting its possession in the civil Courts. This seems to be the course Canon Callaway would have approved. But when much of that Church property in Natal had been bought with money given personally by the Metropolitan, and with money raised by his own personal efforts, it was a hard thing for him to give up, without a struggle, property secured for the furtherance of the Catholic faith, to aid in the propagation of Dr. Colenso's heresies.

It was equally hard for Dean Green to acquiesce in such a policy, and it would seem that Canon Callaway only suggested its possibility as an explanation of his own course of action. The chief difficulty before the Dean, in convening the Assembly to elect a Bishop, was, not only Canon Callaway's attitude, but the fact that others also shared his doubts as to the inchoate and incomplete organisation of the South African Church.

The Dean was limited by the conditions of the Metropolitan in summoning the Elective Assembly. Obviously he could not summon those who did not acknowledge the Metropolitan's authority. The Archbishop of Canterbury's advice was on the same lines. Those who declined to receive Dr. Colenso as their Bishop were advised to meet and elect a successor.

Meeting of
the Elective
Assembly.

The meeting took place at Maritzburg on the 25th of October, 1866.

The Dean presided as Vicar-General, and there were present ten priests and three deacons and about forty lay communicants, representing Maritzburg, Richmond, Karkloof, Umzinto, and other places. Durban declined to send a representative. Two of Dr. Colenso's clergy were present, and about 120 laity, presumably hostile to the object of the meeting. The Dean's task as Chairman was fraught with difficulty.

He read letters from the Metropolitan and Bishop Cotterill of Grahamstown, advising the election of a Bishop. Dr. Colenso's attitude in refusing to allow hymns which involved prayers to our Lord, and the consequent public controversy on this subject, caused the Dean to ask the Assembly to declare as follows :

We believe with firm and unhesitating faith that our crucified Lord, Very God of Very God ; is adorable, and worthy of all adoration ; ever has been, and ever is to be adored, both in Heaven and in Earth—Amen. This declaration was carried by the members of the meeting rising to their feet. It appears that the dissentient laity present did this as well as those entitled to vote. The only person who remained seated was Mr. Tönnesen, who was officiating with Dr. Colenso at the Cathedral. The Metropolitan's letter to the Dean, counselling the Diocese to elect a Bishop, and a similar letter from Bishop Cotterill of Grahamstown, was read to the Assembly by the Dean, before the declaration was put and carried.

Its solemn declaration of our Lord's Godhead.

There was some controversy with regard to the constitution of the meeting. Mr. Newnham moved, and Canon Callaway seconded, a resolution to the effect that Convocation did not recommend the exclusion of those who did not acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan. The Dean was most courteous and firm upon this point. He explained that it would be outside reason to allow persons to vote in the Assembly who were satisfied to acknowledge Dr. Colenso on Erastian grounds, and the resolution was accordingly put and lost by an overwhelming majority. Mr. Lloyd, the Colonial Chaplain of Durban, who had signed the petition calling on Dr. Colenso to resign, intervened at this stage to represent the views of the Durban Erastians. He stated that he did not acknowledge the Metropolitan, and expressed his regret that one "so kind and earnest" should ever have chosen such a man as Dr. Colenso as Bishop of Natal. There was considerable force in this remark, although it obviously partook of the uselessness attaching to the process of "crying over spilt milk". Mr. Lloyd protested against any election of a Bishop at all, and laid his document of formal protest upon the table.

Difficulties as to its constitution.

Mr. Newnham then proposed a declaration to the effect that the desire of Churchmen in Natal was to remain "united in faith, doctrine, discipline and worship" with the Church of England. This declaration was ambiguous. The "discipline" of the Church of England, according to Mr. Newnham, was administered by the Royal supremacy, acting through secular courts. The "discipline" of the Church of England meant to

Declaration of union with the Church of England.

Dean Green and the anti-Erastian party, the "discipline" of the Holy Catholic Church,—the "*iura integra et libertates illæsæ*," pledged to the "*Ecclesia Anglicana*" under the Great Charter. Both parties therefore agreed to the declaration, which was carried by the assembly *standing*.

Resolution of thanks to the Archbishop and Convocation of Canterbury for their advice. Mr. Newnham then proposed a resolution of thanks to the Archbishop and Convocation of Canterbury for advising the Church of Natal in its present distress. The level of debate in the Assembly was very high. Mr. Newnham was a practised speaker, and many speeches of real eloquence were made.

Resolution to elect a Bishop. Archdeacon Fearné then rose to propose the crucial resolution, that the Assembly "do now, praying for guidance from Almighty God, choose a holy man whom we may present to the Metropolitan to be consecrated Bishop over the Church in Natal". The words "whom we may present to the Metropolitan," show that the Assembly did not contemplate the consecration of their future Bishop by Royal mandate, or by any one else than the Metropolitan, whom they acknowledged. The resolution clearly asked for a Bishop to be consecrated on Church authority *alone*, independent of the State.

Archdeacon Fearné made a great point in referring to Lord Carnarvon's despatch to the Natal Government with regard to the Dean's stipend as Colonial Chaplain, of which Dr. Colenso had sought to deprive him. Lord Carnarvon expressed the absolute neutrality of the Imperial Government on the subject. He said: "Dr. Colenso does not derive from his Letters Patent the legal *status* of a Diocesan Bishop". Therefore Dean Green, as Government Chaplain, was not bound to admit his authority, and could not be deprived of his income for refusing to acknowledge him. The Archdeacon closed a long and eloquent address with the words: "Jeremy Taylor said that '*Episcopacy was appointed for the correction of error*'. Have we no need of Episcopacy when in the midst of error? Gentlemen, I entreat you, as you love your little ones, as you hope to see them nurtured in the true Catholic Faith of Christ; in the Name of my Great Master, I beseech you, now that God calls you to it—*elect your Bishop*". The resolution was seconded, and Mr. Newnham moved an amendment, based upon the indecisive utterances of the Convocation of Canterbury, and ending with the words "We deem it wrong to elect a Bishop".

Mr. Newnham's amendment not to elect.

His speech on severance from the Church of England.

Mr. Newnham's speech was able and brilliant. He began with saying that in electing a Bishop of the Church of South Africa, they would be only in "union and communion" with the Church of England, and not identical with it. He warned

the Assembly against electing a Bishop "whom the Queen will not recognise". He also said that the rejection of Bishop Colenso and his "Letters Patent" would involve the loss of all the Church property in Natal, and preclude the Diocese from receiving Dr. Colenso as their Bishop, if he should repent, "and retract these his wicked errors". He protested against leaving the Church of England to form an "Independent Church," and pleaded for a re-trial of Dr. Colenso by the authority of the Crown in the civil courts. He represented most fully the views of those Erastians, who dreaded a severance from the Royal supremacy more than Dr. Colenso's heresies. Canon Callaway seconded this amendment, with the saving clause "under existing circumstances". He said, "My own personal feeling would be to elect a Bishop this day. But duty says *No*. If we do so, we go in direct opposition to the Crown. I do not acknowledge Bishop Colenso. I longed to come here to-day, and help to elect a Bishop. It gives great pain to my personal feelings to oppose it." He concluded with asking the Assembly to wait for another year, before electing a Bishop.

Mr. C. Barter, M.L.C., then gave the laymen's view of the matter. He made a long and brilliant speech. He dealt with Mr. Newnham's arguments one by one and tore them in pieces. He very acutely said, "*What is the Church of England? Is the essence of the Church of England the ecclesiastical power of the Crown?*" He proceeded to show that the accidents of the Tudor Reformation, and the anomalies of Church and State, were not the *true* Church of England. He compared the Royal supremacy and its consequences for the last three hundred years, to the "encrustations on a ship's bottom" after a long voyage, *which never could be reckoned as a true part of the ship*.

Mr. Barter,
M.L.C.,
opposes Mr.
Newnham.

The Rev. F. S. Robinson then disposed of Mr. Newnham's plea for a re-trial of Dr. Colenso by saying we could not appeal to an "infidel court". He said further that if Dr. Colenso retracted his errors, Churchmen in Natal would, according to ancient precedent, receive him to communion; but never admit him again as their Bishop.

The Rev.
F. S. Robin-
son also
opposes him.

"As to the Church buildings," he said, "if we are to hold them only on condition of being subject to Dr. Colenso—let us lose them." As to the idea of Convocation desiring them to wait, Mr. Robinson said that Bishop Cotterill had been present throughout the debate in Convocation, and his impression was different. The Bishop had written to them, urging them to elect. Mr. Turnbull (Registrar of the Metropolitan) then read Lord Carnarvon's despatch, which has previously

The Rev. J. Barker supports election.

been mentioned. The Rev. J. Barker (now Dean of Maritzburg in succession to Dean Green), made a very apposite allusion to the election of a co-adjutor Bishop of Toronto without any reference to the Crown, and strongly supported the resolution to elect a Bishop. Dr. Sutherland (the Surveyor General of the Colony) made an admirable speech in which he dealt with Mr. Newnham's arguments concerning an "Independent Church". He used the parallel of the American Church, whose Bishops had nothing to do with the Royal supremacy.

So does Dr. Sutherland.

"Here, then," he said, "we are free from the trammels of the State. We have been distinctly told by the highest authorities that we are separate, and that no future action on our part can make us more so." Dr. Sutherland then advocated the election of a Bishop without further delay. Mr. Wathen, M.L.C., said he was afraid of a permanent split in Natal, analogous to the Disruption between the Established Kirk and the Free Kirk. He advised delay on the strange ground that the Diocese had never yet had a Bishop who did his work, and waiting a little longer would not matter. At the same time he said, "I do not acknowledge Dr. Colenso as my Bishop".

And Mr. Wathen.

At this stage the Assembly adjourned till the following day. The Dean arranged for a social gathering to meet the clergy and laity of the Elective Assembly. About 250 Church people accepted the Dean's invitation, and a very pleasant evening was spent. On Friday the Assembly resumed its work. The Rev. J. Taylor of Greytown said that he had been gradually convinced that Dr. Colenso's legal position was untenable, so that Mr. Newnham's arguments had no weight with him. He unhesitatingly supported the immediate election of a Bishop. Mr. McLeod said he regretted having to vote against his own clergyman, Canon Callaway, but he could not agree with delaying the election. Mr. P. Davis, a prominent business man in Maritzburg, said that he regretted deeply the line taken by Mr. Newnham and Canon Callaway, two clergy whom he respected very highly. The clergy, he thought, would some day thank the laity for their determination to elect a Bishop, in spite of the divided voices of the clergy. Mr. Moodie, the Resident Magistrate of the city, spoke strongly of the vagueness of the objections raised to election by Canon Callaway and Mr. Newnham. "When Dr. Colenso came out," said Mr. Moodie, "he carried with him a two-fold Commission. In his right hand he held his *Divine* Commission, and in his left hand his *human* Commission—the 'Letters Patent' of the

And the Rev. J. Taylor.

And Mr. P. Davis.

Strong Anti-Erastian speech of Mr. Moodie.

Crown. When he returned on the last occasion, *his right hand was empty*, for his Spiritual authority had been taken from him by the only power on earth which could do it. But in his *left hand* he still grasped the *shreds* of the 'Letters Patent,' for they had been torn to shreds by the Civil Power, which yet refused to interfere with the spiritual sentence. I well recollect his own words when he first came. He told us he was come amongst us as the *Ambassador of Christ*. The second time he came he told us, '*I am come to discharge the duties committed to me by my Queen*.'" Mr. Moodie concluded a well-reasoned speech with a personal appeal to the clergy to be united in electing a Bishop. The Rev. J. Walton, of Pine-
 town, spoke strongly in favour of electing a Bishop. Mr. Walton supports election.
 Fenton made a strong speech urging Churchmen not to be deterred from doing their duty by the "dreadful skeleton" of the Royal supremacy. As a layman, he told them that the Royal supremacy had virtually thrown Natal Churchmen overboard, and the position was irrevocable. Staff-Surgeon Cattell, of the Imperial garrison at Maritzburg, said that for 300 years the Church had lacked an opportunity to declare her freedom. They had their opportunity now in Natal, and the Diocese was free to elect a Bishop. Convocation had said that to take such a step would not sever them from the Mother Church. "Suppose we do not get the Queen's mandate for the consecration of our Bishop in England, he can be consecrated without any mandate in South Africa." After a few more speeches the Dean rose to close the debate. So does Mr. Fenton. And Staff-Surgeon Cattell.

He began by deprecating disunion, and said that Mr. Newnham could not really sever himself from those who elected a Bishop, on account of legal considerations. There was no Scriptural basis for deferring the election. On the contrary there were strong Scriptural reasons for proceeding with the election. St. Peter's precedent in the election of St. Matthias has always governed the procedure of the Church in filling up vacant sees.

The Dean pointed out that Lord Westbury's *dicta* in the Privy Council judgment, which had sent Dr. Colenso back to them, were of little weight, because he had originally drafted the "Letters Patent" which he subsequently declared were null and void. His arguments were derived from Mr. Watermeyer's defence of Mr. Long before the Supreme Court at Capetown. The Dean then disposed of the Erastian contention that the Crown necessarily took part in the election of a Bishop, and said that his personal relations with Mr. Newnham were

The Dean closes the debate.

intimate and close. Mr. Newnham was separated as widely as possible from Dr. Colenso, and his difference of opinion as to the election was no barrier to union. "I therefore pray all my brethren," said the Dean, "that they will unite with me in going up to the Cathedral, and if they cannot elect, will yet join with us in prayer that we may have a right judgment in all things; then can we return together walking side by side, united in affection. If then the world should say, *the Dean and others have gained their end*, angels in Heaven would say, the greater triumph was theirs who had denied their will and put a constraint upon themselves, that unity and love should not be broken. I do not ask them to do what I have not most carefully weighed. I do not now speak a hasty word. I say what I most deeply feel. Though I am not the oldest in years, yet still I am grey-headed and I am the oldest in residence here. I implore them not to separate from us. Let the Church at home be the judge of this point. If the consecration does not take place our work comes to an end, and we are still one, but if the election is approved of, and our Bishop acknowledged, why should they refuse to receive him? I think, therefore, they need not desert us, but go to the Cathedral with us, and kneel there in prayer that we may be directed aright. One word more. A cloud seemed to hang over the meeting yesterday. My hand involuntarily turned over the pages of my Bible, not knowing what I did, when my eye lighted upon these words: *For a small moment I have forsaken thee, but with great mercies will I gather thee. In a little wrath I hid My Face from thee for a moment, but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith the Lord Thy Redeemer. For the mountains shall depart and the hills be removed, but my kindness shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of My Peace be removed, saith the Lord that hath mercy on thee. O thou afflicted, tossed with tempest, and not comforted, behold I will lay thy stones with fair colours, and lay thy foundations with sapphires. And I will make thy windows of agates, and thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy borders of pleasant stones. And all thy children shall be taught of the Lord, and great shall be the peace of thy children.* As I read, my heart beats high with hope, and I can only pray to God that He will make us humble, for *Them that are meek shall He guide in judgment, and such as are gentle them shall he learn His way.*"

Archdeacon
Ferne's
brief reply.

After this touching appeal, Archdeacon Ferne briefly replied on the main issue, ending his speech with the solemn question of the Ordinal, which lays upon the priesthood the

duty of maintaining the discipline of Christ. "We have then sworn to maintain this discipline," said the Archdeacon. "A time has now come when we may canonically maintain this discipline. The question is whether we will now act in this solemn way, whether you will do this now that God calls you to it. May He give you grace faithfully to exercise this privilege."

The vote was then taken. Five clergy voted with Dr. Mr. Callaway and Mr. Newnham for the amendment not to elect, one of whom, Mr. Lloyd, had said that he did not acknowledge the Metropolitan, so that properly he ought not to have voted. The Dean and six other clergy voted against the amendment. The vote of the laity was taken, and *three* voted for the amendment and *twenty-nine* against it.

The lay vote saved the situation, as it has on several crucial occasions in the South African Church.

The Assembly having thus rejected the amendment, voted on the substantive motion to elect with the same result; the figures of course being reversed. The Dean held a proxy from Mr. Robertson of Zululand, to vote for election. But he did not record it, as some objection was raised. One of the clergy who voted against election held a temporary license and was on the point of returning to England. His reason for voting as he did was that his father, a proctor in the Canterbury Convocation, had written to tell him not to vote for election.

A resolution was then carried "that the clergy do elect, and the lay communicants assent to the election," according to the direction of the Convocation of Canterbury. This was carried *nem. con.* The next resolution was to the effect that "if the person now elected should decline, the Bishops of Capetown and Grahamstown, with the concurrence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, should choose a fit and proper person *hitherto unconnected with the province of South Africa.*" There was some debate on this resolution. One of the clergy thought that the Dean should be elected Bishop, and said that this was his view before he had ever met the Dean. Mr. Barter said that the proviso had been inserted from a sense of "the high delicacy which is always found in men who well hold high office". The Dean said that it was obvious that a stranger would be better for the peace of the Diocese, and that he earnestly desired to have a stranger set over the Diocese.

Canon Callaway and Mr. Elder, who had both taken a strong line against election, now showed how deeply they had been touched by the closing words of the Dean's speech. Both

Mr. Newnham's amendment rejected, and the vote for election carried.

Delegation to the Metropolitan and the Bishop of Grahams-town.

of them said that they hoped the difficulties which they feared would be cleared away, and that they would then *heartily welcome the new Bishop*.

Resolution
for a
Provincial
Synod.

A resolution was then carried of very great importance, as follows: "That the Metropolitan be respectfully requested to take the necessary steps for the speedy assembling of a Provincial Synod, that all things wanting for the due order and government of the province may be supplied." This resolution was a necessary complement to the election of a Bishop. The Constitution and Canons, adopted by a Provincial Synod, were necessary to define the due relation of the new Bishop, on his consecration, to the Metropolitan and to the clergy and laity of his Diocese.

Vote of
thanks to the
Dean as
Chairman.

Canon Callaway then took the chair of the Assembly to put a vote of thanks to the Dean for his conduct in the chair. Mr. Barter said, in proposing it, that "everyone must acknowledge that if true Christian charity, and all the high qualifications of a Christian gentleman were ever displayed by the president of any meeting, it had certainly been by their president that day". The resolution was carried by acclamation.

The Dean, after resuming the chair, asked for information concerning the Rev. W. Butler, the Vicar of Wantage, who had been named as a fit person to be elected as their Bishop. Mr. Barter and some others spoke on the subject.

Assembly
adjourns to
the Cathedral,
and elects
Mr. Butler of
Wantage as
Bishop.

The Dean then adjourned the Assembly to meet in the Cathedral. All the clergy, except Mr. Newnham and Mr. Lloyd, responded to the Dean's appeal for unity, and about fifty of the laity were present. Immediately after the first lesson at Evensong, each of the clergy who had voted for the election of a Bishop went to the altar, and severally made the following declaration:—

"I—, having the fear of God before my eyes and seeking the welfare and glory of His Church, believing William Butler, Priest, Vicar of Wantage in the Diocese of Oxford, in the Kingdom of England, to be, by soundness in the Faith, holiness of life, and divine learning, eminently qualified to be Bishop over the Church in Natal, do now and hereby nominate him to that Holy Office."

When the voting was completed, the Dean said that "William Butler had been duly elected Bishop by seven priests and deacons, and required that if anyone knew any cause or just impediment why the said William Butler should not be consecrated to that Holy Office, he should make it known without delay to the Metropolitan through the clergy".

Thus closed the most momentous Episcopal election in the history of the Anglican Communion.

The small number of clergy taking part in it was more than balanced by the weightiness and dignity of the whole proceedings, and the assent of so large a body of communicant laity. The difficulties before that Assembly were great indeed. The legal difficulties, the Erastian confusions, and the lack of precedents to guide, or authorities to inform, rendered the courage of the men who yet dared to record their votes, worthy of all admiration. None knew better than those who took part in it, that it owed its forbearance and dignity, in debate and procedure, to the guiding hand and godly wisdom of its President.

Faithful
courage of
the laity in
electing.

Wisdom of
the Dean as
President.

The whole subsequent history of the South African Church was coloured by that Elective Assembly. Had it failed to elect a Bishop, the ultimate victory of Erastianism, all along the line, would have been permanently secured. Under God, the South African Church of to-day owes its liberties to the faith and patience of the Dean of Maritzburg, as exercised in that memorable Assembly.

At this time the Dean put forth his draft of Canons, which were so useful as a basis for the Constitution and Canons of the South African Church. He sent a copy to Dean Williams of Grahamstown, who was subsequently a cause of great trouble to the Church, by lapsing into Erastianism and communion with Dr. Colenso in the year 1880. In that year Dean Williams actually invited Dr. Colenso to preach and confirm in Grahamstown Cathedral, in despite of the inhibition of his lawful Diocesan, Bishop Merriman.

The Dean's
suggested
Code of
Canons.

But in 1866 Dean Williams was a sound Churchman and a strong opponent of Erastianism. He wrote to Dean Green as follows :—

“ MY DEAR DEAN,

“ I have to acknowledge your kindness in enclosing to me the Canons. I have read them carefully, and should certainly support their principles in all essentials. I like walking in the old paths, not only in matters of faith, but of discipline as well, and I am persuaded that God's great mission to the Colonial Church is not yet to the savage heathen. I believe it is rather to revive an Apostolic and living Christian *discipline* in our own dear Church. Being comparatively free from the entanglements created by an artificial status attached to her communion by the common and statute law of England,

Letter on
them from
Dean
Williams of
Grahamstown.

we can more easily do it, and so drive out of her vineyard *the wild boar out of the wood* which has been the real cause of all the heresies which have strengthened within her pale—worldliness, self-will and self-seeking. You are doing part of this work in Natal, and the great honour and immeasurable importance of your work is that you are setting an example for our dear Mother Church at home, and writing a "Preface" for what shall—please God—be her new history. May your little band be strengthened! The Bishop (Dr. Cotterill) is somewhat disturbed by the result of your Synod; but on reading the report in full to-day, as given in the *Natal Mercury*, I am less disheartened. I think Mr. Butler, on consideration of the whole movement, ought not to decline accepting office. But the whole thing shows how badly advised you would have been to have delayed. In fact you delayed *too long*. The mischievous influence of the poor spirit displayed by the trimmers on the English Bench, has added tenfold risk, as I feared it would, to the proverbial dangers of delay in your trying case. Still the speeches of some of your laity—so excellent and pithy, that to my mind they are nothing less than marvels of consistent and courageous Churchmanship—give much weight to your side, and they bring to my mind much hope. Could we, in the other Dioceses, interfere in the matter as brethren of the same Province—I mean immediately, previous to the projected Provincial Synod—and by resolutions or memorials urge Mr. Butler to acceptance, in case he wavers, as our Bishop seems to think he will?"

After saying that the local Committee at Grahamstown had done good work in discussing Church matters in preparation for 'a Provincial Synod,' the Dean of Grahamstown concludes as follows: "The heartiness and tractability of the laity at these meetings has been really surprising. The feeling against the Bishop of Capetown is visibly disappearing.

"Yours faithfully in the Gospel of our Lord,

"F. H. WILLIAMS, D.D."

The Dean also received a sympathetic letter from Bishop Cotterill:—

"GRAHAMSTOWN, 17th November, 1866.

"MY DEAR DEAN,

"I can only write a few lines in reply to your interesting communications, but I do not like to let the mail leave without acknowledging them.

"I confess that on first receiving your letter with the mere

minutes of proceedings, my feeling was chiefly that of disappointment that the wish expressed by me in my letter to you, that 'no divided opinions would hinder united action,' had not been realised. The full account of the discussions given in the *Mercury* has awakened another feeling, that of much thankfulness for the spirit shown by your laity, and reminds one forcibly that it is nothing with the Divine Head of the Church 'to save by many or by few,' which is doubtless a lesson His Church needs to learn in these days. And the accounts in the papers show also that some of the clergy, at least, who voted against the election of a Bishop, will and must on their principles unite with you, and place themselves under him when he arrives.

"I shall write a few lines by this mail to Dr. Callaway to thank him for some of his publications which he has just sent me, and I shall certainly point out to him the great evil of disunion at such a crisis. As you say, 'it would be wrong for faith to fail or grow faint' under all the difficulties that may now encompass God's Church. We may be well assured that however others may misunderstand or oppose, simply going forward in the paths of duty must in the end lead to that success which God alone can give. In His hands we may safely leave results.

"Believe me,

"Yours very faithfully,

"H. GRAHAMSTOWN."

The situation was further complicated for Dean Green by the extraordinary judgment delivered by Lord Romilly in the Rolls Court on 6th November, 1866, in the case "*Colenso v. Gladstone and others*". This was a suit instituted by Dr. Colenso against the Trustees of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund, who had withheld his stipend since his deposition in 1864. Lord Romilly took a most extraordinary view of the case in adjudging that Dr. Colenso was entitled to his arrears of stipend. He contradicted the previous judgment of the Privy Council as to the nullity of "Letters Patent" in a very ingenious manner. He said that the "Letters Patent" did not create ecclesiastical tribunals, but that "Letters Patent" Bishops in the Colonies could apply to the ordinary Civil Courts for coercive jurisdiction, with an appeal to the Privy Council. This strange verdict naturally delighted Dr. Colenso and his followers. One of his supporters in a fit of enthusiasm had the Romilly judgment printed on *satín*, and framed with polished

Lord
Romilly's
judgment.

Incom-
patibility of
Lord
Romilly's
judgment
with the
Privy
Council
decisions.

Dean
Williams on
Lord
Romilly's
judgment.

Dr. Colenso
obtains
judgment in
the Natal
Supreme
Court
granting him
the Trustee-
ship of the
Cathedral.

This
judgment
was sub-
sequently
confirmed by
the Privy
Council.

colonial woods, as a New Year's gift to Dr. Colenso. It was, as we read in a Natal paper, "most gratefully accepted by him," and hung up in his drawing-room. But the Natal Supreme Court did not consider itself bound by the Rolls judgment, as will subsequently appear. And the Privy Council in 1868, in the case "*ex parte* Jenkins," which was an appeal from the Bermudas with regard to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Newfoundland, declared the incompatibility of the Rolls judgment with the previous decision of the Privy Council "*in re* the Bishop of Natal". The Rolls judgment created great excitement at the time, and Dean Williams of Grahamstown preached and published a sermon which attacked it in no measured terms. In his Preface to the Sermon he spoke of Dr. Colenso "as a Bishop who had been solemnly condemned on numerous charges of the most flagrant heresy," and of the "avowed contempt expressed by the deposed prelate for the sentence of excommunication issued by the highest Church authority". He then stated that Lord Romilly's judgment "appeared to bind the Church here to the unparalleled degradation of being obliged to argue out all the profoundest mysteries of the Faith before the secular judges and magistrates of the land". This outspoken condemnation of Dr. Colenso and the Romilly judgment by Dean Williams is very interesting, from the fact that, when he threw overboard his former views in 1879, and united himself to the Natal Erastians, these very words, from his published sermon, were quoted against him in the public press of the Cape Colony, and made his position very awkward indeed.

In January, 1867, Dr. Colenso entered an action in the Supreme Court of Natal, in order to claim the Trusteeship of the ground on which the Cathedral was built, and which originally stood in the name of the Bishop of Capetown as Trustee, before the See of Natal was formed. Judgment was given on 31st January in Dr. Colenso's favour by Chief Justice Harding and Judge Phillips, Judge Connor dissenting in a lengthy and well-reasoned judgment, which took the line that, as Bishop Gray's "Letters Patent," and also Dr. Colenso's, were alike invalid, the ground still vested in Bishop Gray as the original Trustee. This decision of the Natal Supreme Court was carried, as a matter of civil rights, to the Privy Council on appeal, and, although we anticipate matters, it is as well to note here that the Privy Council in 1869 affirmed the judgment of the Supreme Court of Natal, which gave to Dr. Colenso the sole use of St. Peter's Cathedral. But as the

matter was under appeal, this decision of the Supreme Court did not give Dr. Colenso the powers which he desired. He wished to exclude Dean Green, and all the clergy who acknowledged his deposition and excommunication, from the use of all Church buildings and property which were vested in himself as Trustee. Strengthened by the *obiter dicta* of the Romilly judgment, Dr. Colenso decided to bring Dean Green, Archdeacon Fearn, and other clergy who did not acknowledge him, to trial before his Court, held as "Letters Patent" Bishop, with the purpose of depriving them of their offices, and then, by means of the Civil Court, ejecting them from the use of the Church property and fabrics.

He accordingly cited Dean Green, Archdeacon Fearn, and the Rev. J. Walton, Incumbent of Pinetown, to appear before him on 22nd April, 1867. Naturally the Dean and the other clergy declined to appear and answer for themselves in the Court of a deposed and excommunicated Prelate.

The Dean was charged with unlawfully "brawling" in Church by his protest against Dr. Colenso's officiating in the Cathedral, and by his reading the Metropolitan's sentence of excommunication in the Cathedral. Archdeacon Fearn was accused of taking part in Mr. Butler's election as Bishop, and of writing to the churchwardens of Christchurch, Addington, to reprove them for acknowledging Dr. Colenso as their Bishop. Mr. Walton was charged with "brawling" in Church, by reading a public protest against Dr. Colenso's intrusion into St. John's Church, Pinetown, and also for voting for Mr. Butler as Bishop at the Elective Assembly. Dr. Colenso took pains to make his Court and its procedure as formal as was possible under the circumstances. He sat as judge at a table before the Altar of St. Mary's Church, Maritzburg, with two lay Assessors, Messrs. Pinsent and Goodricke, seated on each side of him. Mr. T. Shepstone, Dr. Colenso's Registrar, read the citations, and then led the formal evidence against the Dean, Archdeacon Fearn, and Mr. Walton. The facts, of course, were indisputable, and the formal proving of them by Mr. Shepstone and his witnesses partook of the nature of a solemn legal farce. The whole course of Church History may be searched in vain for a precedent of the proceedings on the 9th of May, 1867, when Dr. Colenso reassembled his "Court" for the purpose of delivering his "judgment". No instance, so far as the writer can remember, has ever been known of a Prelate, who has been formally deposed by the sentence of a Spiritual Court, indulging himself in the strange retaliation of

Dr. Colenso cites Dean Green and Archdeacon Fearn for "contumacy".

Dr. Colenso delivers judgment a "depriving" Dean Green and others of their offices and benefices.

holding a mock "Spiritual Court," for the purpose of passing a sentence, which he must have known would be regarded as a futile and even blasphemous attempt to exercise spiritual powers, of which the Archbishop of Canterbury and the majority of the Bishops of the Anglican Communion considered that he had been righteously deprived. He had returned to Natal, as the Magistrate of Maritzburg had said in the Elective Assembly, with his right hand emptied of his spiritual Commission as a Bishop of the Church of *God*, and grasping in his left hand the tattered *shreds* of his "Letters Patent," which erroneously attributed to him the civil coercive jurisdiction of a Bishop of the Church of *England*. The Privy Council had declared his "Letters Patent," as an Established Bishop, *ultra vires* for the Crown to grant, and therefore *ipso facto* invalid. Dr. Colenso was a man deprived by his natural temperament of the sense of balance and proportion. The spiritual sentence passed upon him by his Metropolitan was disregarded by him "as null and void in law," because of the failure of the "Letters Patent" to create a temporal coercive jurisdiction. For a man in his position, whose "Letters Patent" had also been declared invalid, to attempt to hold a "Spiritual Court" upon the clergy who rightly repudiated his jurisdiction, and further to claim to exercise over them, because they *had been* clergy of his Diocese *before he was deposed*, a "spiritual authority" and an illegal temporal coercive jurisdiction, partook of the nature of a scandalous mockery. Dean Stanley and his English friends never ventured to defend his attempt to sit as a spiritual judge, and deliver a "judgment" which purported to deprive Dean Green, Archdeacon Fearne and Mr. Walton of their offices and benefices. Even his faithful and admiring biographer, Sir G. Cox, passes over this strange episode in Dr. Colenso's life as briefly as possible.

But we must return to the "Court" and the "judgment". Dr. Colenso and his two barrister Assessors sat at their table in St. Mary's Church. Mr. T. Shepstone, junior, his Registrar, was in his place. About forty persons assembled in the body of the church to hear the "judgment" delivered.

The Hon. T. Shepstone, formerly a close friend of the Metropolitan and the Dean—who had now become an Erastian—was present, and also Mr. Justice Phillips of the Supreme Court of Natal, and Mr. Brooks, the Superintendent-General of Education (Dr. Colenso's churchwarden).

Dr. Colenso then read a long "judgment" from which we cull the actual "sentence".

The sentence
of "depriva-
tion".

“ And whereas after duly considering the evidence produced, and after due consultation with our Assessors aforesaid, we have found that the said charges, with the exception of the first, have been sufficiently proved against the Very Rev. James Green, and that the said Very Rev. James Green is guilty of *brawling*, on the *sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth* charges ; of wilful *disobedience* to the lawful commands of the Bishop of Natal, his Ordinary, on the *fifth, twelfth, and thirteenth* charges ; and of *schism* on the *fifteenth* charge :—

“ Now therefore we, John William, by Divine permission Bishop of Natal, do hereby revoke and recall the licence under which the Very Rev. James Green at present officiates, as a clergyman of the United Church of England and Ireland within this Diocese of Natal ; and we do further deprive him of his office of Dean of our Cathedral Church of St. Peter, in the city of Pietermaritzburg, and the office of minister of the said church, and of all other spiritual offices which he may hold in the United Church of England and Ireland in this Diocese. Given under our hand and seal, etc.

“ J. W. NATAL.”

The same sentence *mutatis mutandis* was delivered depriving Archdeacon Fearne of his Archdeaconry and Canonry, and, in the case of Mr. Walton, of his licence to officiate.

Thus ended the most abnormal travesty of ecclesiastical judicial procedure which has ever been recorded in the annals of the Church. The brunt of the conflict in Natal was borne with unflinching courage by Dean Green. The Metropolitan could scarcely realise what a burden had been placed upon the Dean. He naturally despised the “ sentence ” of Dr. Colenso’s “ Spiritual Court,” quite oblivious of the way in which the strong Erastian party in Natal would view it. He was personally in the background of the conflict after he had held his Court and deposed Dr. Colenso in 1863. At the same time, however, he wrote as follows to Mr. Keble of the Dean in 1866 : “ The Dean is really acting a confessor’s part, in the very best spirit. The calmness, gentleness, trustfulness, and holiness of his mind during the great trial, the burden of which falls chiefly upon him, is very remarkable”. And on 15th May, he wrote to the Dean : “ My thoughts are continually with you and your fellow confessors, and [my] prayers offered for you that you may be guided and comforted, may perceive and know what things you ought to do, and have grace faithfully to perform the same”. Later on he wrote on the subject

Courage and
confessor-
ship of the
Dean.

of the Dean's possible ejection from the Cathedral, when Dr. Colenso applied to have his "spiritual" sentence confirmed by the Supreme Court: "The Court will, I think, decide on the principle of the Long judgment that you have *contracted* with him (Dr. C.) and will eject you, unless the terms *English Church* save you". This forecast on the Metropolitan's part was in a great measure correct.

Visit of
Bishop
Twells to
Natal.

The summoning of the Lambeth Conference of 1867 caused Bishop Twells to leave his Diocese for the purpose of attending. The Dean thought that he might pass through Natal on his way to the coast and hold some confirmations for him which were much needed, since none had been held since the Metropolitan's Visitation in 1864, for lack of a Bishop. The Metropolitan thereupon gave Bishop Twells a commission to visit the Diocese of Natal with full Metropolitan powers. This document was published in the Natal Press with a clause from the Metropolitan's "Letters Patent" in it, which referred to his power of visitation. It is true that Dr. Colenso had stated publicly, since his trial and deposition, that he acknowledged the "Letters Patent" power of the Metropolitan, as distinct from his spiritual office. But, in the judgment of the writer, a very serious blunder was made by this action on the part of the Metropolitan, and by Dean Green's assenting to it. Even if the visit of Bishop Twells to Natal was legally defensible, it was bad policy to send one of the Assessors in Dr. Colenso's trial to visit Natal instead of the Metropolitan. It is true that Bishop Gray was weighted with many burdens and cares just at that time. But, in the opinion of the writer, he ought most decidedly to have visited Natal in person. It appears to be a violation of the Canon Law for a Metropolitan, *resident in his Province*, to delegate his powers of visiting a particular Diocese to one of his Suffragans. The action of the Metropolitan was a strain upon the allegiance of persons who desired to be loyal, and who yet felt shaken by the action of the civil courts.

The Metro-
politan's
commission
to Bishop
Twells.

Bishop
Twells is
refused
entrance into
the Cath-
edral.

On 16th June, 1867, the Metropolitan wrote to Dean Green: "I have sent Bishop Twells his formal commission to act as my commissary in a visitation of Natal. In such cases, the commissary overrides Bishops, Vicars-General, etc. He has power to inhibit you if he pleases." Bishop Twells arrived in Maritzburg on 27th of June, 1867. Dr. Colenso's churchwardens closed the Cathedral on the previous day, and debarred the Dean from holding his usual Wednesday evening service, on the plea that Bishop Twells was expected to arrive

shortly, and that the Cathedral would be closed to Bishop Twells so long as he stayed at Maritzburg. The Dean's churchwarden immediately obtained an interdict from the judge in chambers, which authorised the Dean to hold his usual services in the Cathedral. Mr. Brooks, the Government Superintendent of Education, was Dr. Colenso's churchwarden, and although he was a Government official, he declined to obey the interdict. The Sheriff of the Colony was then ordered to carry out the interdict, and on Saturday he made an attempt to do so; but Mr. Brooks met him at the porch of the Cathedral with a protest against the invasion of the rights of the person he termed "*the Queen-made Bishop*"; and the doors being barricaded with beams of timber, the attempt to effect an entrance was abandoned. A gang of paid watchers occupied the Cathedral all night under the charge of Mr. Wheeler, one of Dr. Colenso's sidesmen. These men had to be fed, and the Cathedral was desecrated with ale-sloppings and broken victuals. On the Sunday morning of 30th June, at 7 a.m., the Sheriff broke open the Cathedral doors with sledge hammers, and the party within resisted by piling up forms and benches against the doors. Ultimately an entrance was effected and some of the wreckage cleared away, so that the Dean was able to have his usual 8 a.m. Eucharist.

The Cathedral occupied by a gang of paid watchmen and desecrated.

Bishop Twells was present and preached at the Dean's 9.10 a.m. Matins. It is a remarkable tribute to the Dean's personal influence in Maritzburg, that although the crowd about the Cathedral was noisy and turbulent, no one insulted the Dean. One of his bitterest lay opponents wrote to the Press not long before this occurrence, as follows;—

No one insults the Dean.

"Although I am one of Mr. Green's most uncompromising opponents, I can never forget what he was before he was *contaminated* by the Bishop of Capetown—the instigator of this wretched squabble. When I first arrived in the Colony, Maritzburg was a place where happiness reigned; and the Rev. Mr. Green, who employed himself in doing good and kind acts, was loved and respected more than any man in the Colony; and there was hardly an individual in the place who would not have sacrificed his own comfort to contribute to that of the *first* of ministers. How different it is now! And all through no fault of Mr. Green's, who believes it to be his duty to obey and carry out the schemes of the Bishop of Capetown, who well knows that he has neither the brains nor the courage to fight the battle with Dr. Colenso on the spot. Now that he has rendered Mr. Green's position so uncomfortable,

Testimony of a bitter opponent in his favour.

and destroyed his sphere of usefulness, why does he not use his influence, and show that he has some sense of justice, by obtaining for him a good living in England?" This crude perversion of the true issues is quoted here to show how the situation appeared to the ignorant "man in the street," who had not yet lost his personal regard for the Dean in the midst of a conflict he could not understand.

On Thursday, 4th July, Dr. Colenso's churchwardens were fined for contempt of Court, but this had little effect when notice was given that Bishop Twells would hold a Confirmation in the Cathedral. It was a hard case indeed for those who rejected Dr. Colenso as their Bishop, if no Bishop could confirm their children during the interregnum caused by Dr. Colenso's deposition. But it seems clear that it was Bishop Gray's duty to come in person. It is not likely that any resistance would have been offered to his entrance into the Cathedral, as the building was still registered in his name as Trustee. It is plain that the lawless element, which would not have resisted Bishop Gray, had a more plausible case in resisting Bishop Twells. The curious may read of the events in the *Life of Bishop Colenso* (p. 155). Suffice it to say here that when Dean Green and his Visitor arrived at the Cathedral to hold the Confirmation, they found it occupied by a party of cleaners, whose vigorous operations made a service impossible. The floor was under water; and they were obliged to adjourn to St. Andrew's.

Mr. Gray, Dr. Colenso's helper at the Cathedral, describes this as "merely a device" resorted to by the sidesmen of the Church. But the incident shows the degrading influence of the ecclesiastical situation upon the party responsible for the outrage.

The Durban Erastians received Bishop Twells with a hostile address of protest against his officiating in Natal. He accorded them a personal interview, during which they carefully repudiated any sympathy for Dr. Colenso's opinions. To them he was simply, what Mr. Brooks called him in his protest delivered in the porch of St. Peter's Cathedral, "our Queen-made" Bishop. It is significant to notice that Dean Williams of Grahamstown wrote to the Dean a letter of sympathy on 18th July, 1867, in which he observed: "It is well to know what is going on, and I am bound to tell you that very generally here in private Bishop Twells is blamed for intruding in Natal. I don't allude to the papers, but to private conversation. Of course I know it is easy to speak so, but it occurred to me that it might be well for you or some one

Outrage committed by Dr. Colenso's followers to hinder a Confirmation by Bishop Twells.

Hostile address to Bishop Twells from Durban.

Dean Williams on the visit of Bishop Twells.

else to send an authentic account to the paper, stating the authority and motives under which the Bishop of the Orange Free State preached and ministered in Maritzburg. They say, '*Oh, if he were an older Bishop, or less ultra, etc., he would not have risked such a disturbance*'. I only suggest this."

Dean Williams' letter reads strangely in the light of after events when he invited Dr. Colenso to intrude into the Diocese of Grahamstown. In those days he was a member of E.C.U. and a firm Catholic with strong anti-Erastian convictions. His subsequent career, with its violent reaction against his former convictions, is one of the saddest episodes in South African Church history.

In the midst of his ecclesiastical troubles the Dean was visited with a terrible domestic bereavement. His little son Benjamin, a child of eight years old, was killed by falling out of a waggon near Maritzburg. Mrs. Green was present when the accident occurred; but death was instantaneous. A deep and widespread sympathy was expressed for the Dean and Mrs. Green in this sudden calamity. Dr. Colenso wrote a letter of condolence; to which the Dean replied as follows:—

Death of the
Dean's little
son by an
accident.

17th Oct., 1867.

"MY LORD,

"Amidst the tokens of kindness and sympathy which on every side surrounded Mrs. Green and myself at this painful moment, believe me that your letter, which I received yesterday, was peculiarly grateful to us both. I have no thought of forgetting that we were at one time very intimately connected: on the contrary, the wider the difference has become, the more have I desired to check the growth of any root of bitterness by calling to remembrance former relations. Your letter consequently will be a help to me, and it will not be read and put aside, but preserved. You joined Mrs. Colenso's name with your own. May I beg of you therefore to convey to her Mrs. Green's and my sincere thanks for her kind recollection of us at this hour. I will not add more, but it was impossible to avail myself of your considerate permission to let your note lie unacknowledged.

Reply of the
Dean to a
letter of
condolence
from Dr.
Colenso.

"Believe me to remain,

"Faithfully yours,

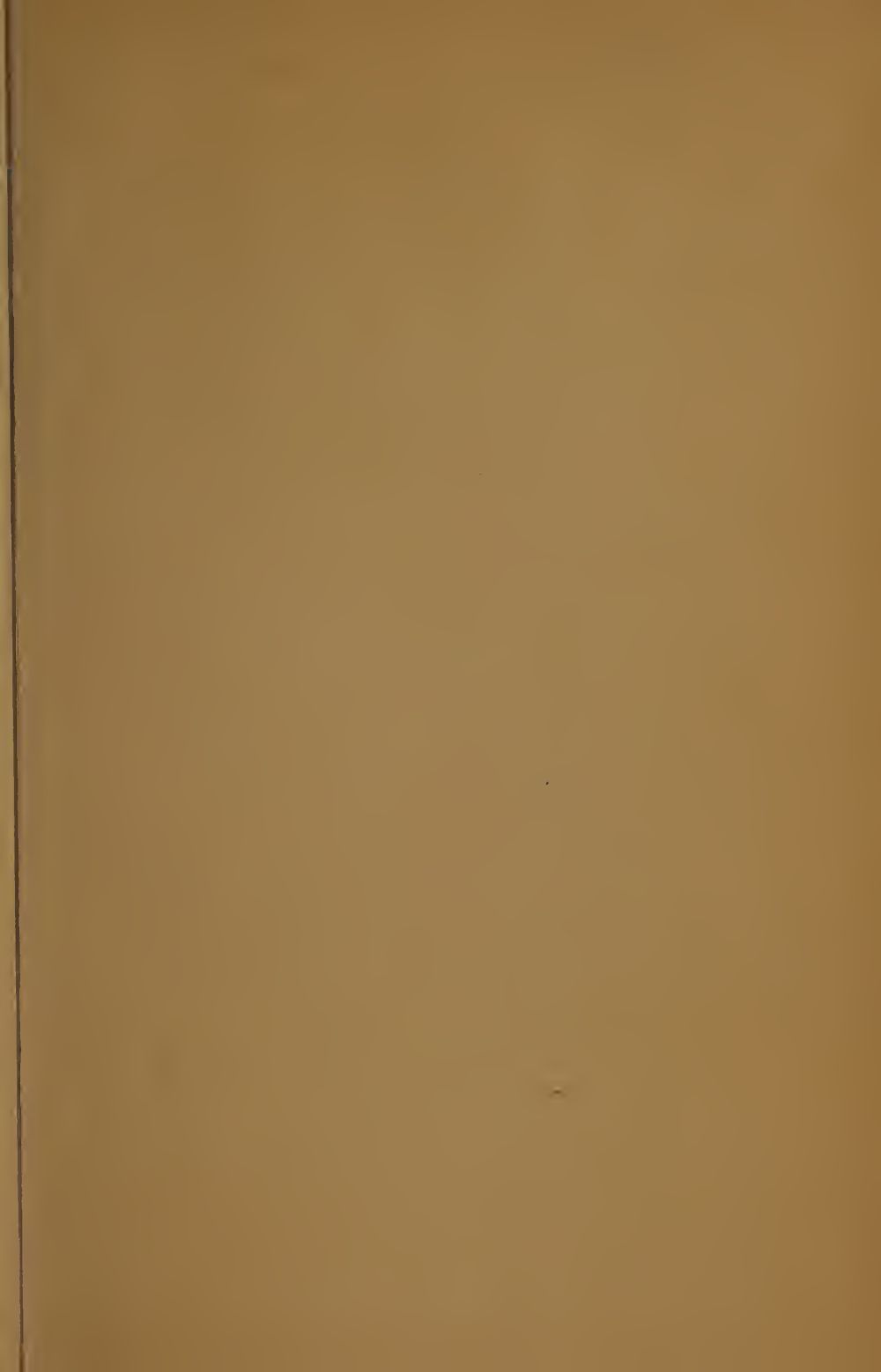
"JAMES GREEN."

The Dean never allowed the stress and strain of the bitter conflict he was waging for the faith and discipline of the Church to lead him into personal bitterness against his oppon-

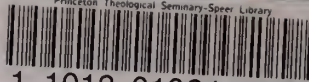
The Dean's
charity to
opponents.

ents. This was his true greatness. The writer of this book has had to peruse numbers of letters that cannot be recorded here for want of space. He takes this opportunity of saying that he has never found in any of the Dean's letters the least trace of personal bitterness, or lack of courtliness and charity towards others. It was the same in his ordinary conversation with those who had the privilege of knowing him. The writer always felt that the Dean's presence and personality exercised a restraint on any outbursts of personal censure upon others, which form so strong a temptation to many good men in the stress of controversy. Dr. Colenso's letter of sympathy to the Dean on the occasion of this personal sorrow left an open door which the Dean always kept open, so far as he could without unfaithfulness to the sentence of the Church.

END OF VOL. I.



Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 01024 4038